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Women and rural development in Africa : a case study of women's income-generating activities in Swaziland.

Nasrin Tabibian
University of Massachusetts Amherst

WOMEN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

A CASE STUDY OF WOMEN'S INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES IN SWAZILAND

A Dissertation Presented

By

NASRIN TABIBIAN

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Approved as to style and content by:

H. Swaminathan, Chairperson

Robert Miltz, Member

Carmen Diana Deere, Member

Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education

ABSTRACT

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Activities in Swaziland

(February 1985)

Nasrin Tabibian, M.A., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Hariharan Swaminathan

After more than a decade and a half during which numerous research studies and many conferences have testified to the high degree of the rural women's contribution to the economy of African countries, there is still talk of "integrating" women in development. Policy makers, development planners and international aid agencies seem to be more concerned with increasing the physical participation of women in the economic life of their countries, than to ensure their equitable access to power and decision making, opportunities for unexploitative employment, or resources for and benefits of production.

One of the major strategies devised for creating employment opportunities for the rural African women has been the area of income-generating projects. They are projects which provide women with skills training for income generation either through wage, or self

employment. Handicraft production is one of the better known activities in this area.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the organizational structure, goals and strategies of income-generating network in Swaziland and demonstrate its shortcomings. Moreover, the study attempts to assess the implications of income-generating activities on various aspects of the social and economic lives of the rural Swazi women. It is argued that little attention has been given to the creation of viable employment opportunities for the rural Swazi women, and that the income-generating projects are irrelevant to the mainstream of the national economic planning strategies for development in Swaziland.

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BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

As less developed countries around the world go through the economic development process, important changes occur in the women's work pattern. In Africa especially, introduction of cash economy, urbanization, and migration of men to the industrial areas have lead to a change and, often, an increase in the women's workload, especially in the rural areas. Traditionally, African women have been responsible for a good portion of agricultural work and/or trading, as well as the domestic chores. Today, women still have to carry out their traditional roles in provision of food and child rearing, while at the same time they need access to income in order to be able to help sustain their family.

While women participate in the economic life of their countries, as part of the labor force and both in the household and on the farm, their access to and control over the benefits accruing from the production process remain limited (NFE Exchange, 1981). This is particularly true in the case of rural African women who do the majority of the work around the house and on the farm. No matter how great women's involvement in the rural economy, it is the men who have, traditionally, been considered to be the main contributors. The

time and energy women put in farming, for example, is ignored by the mere fact that the majority of agricultural extension programs are aimed at men. Moreover, agricultural innovations, generally, lighten that part of the field work traditionally performed by men.

Since most of the revenues from agriculture, especially the cash crops, go to men, African women have had to devise their own ways of earning cash. Handicraft production, beer brewing, selling vegetables and cooked food, and trading have, traditionally, been but a few examples of such activities. Today, with the penetration of the cash economy in the rural areas where subsistence agriculture has been the basis for the economy, women's need for cash income has increased substantially.

Migration of young people, mostly men, to the urban and industrialized areas, has, on the one hand, generally increased the workload of African women, and on the other hand, has left them with more responsibility towards the feeding and schooling of the children.

Under the pressure of various women's groups and based on the findings of several research studies done by some social scientists, women's issues were finally put on the agenda of the national and international development organizations. The United Nations (UN), for example, set up many conventions to create an international awareness towards the conditions of rural women, their contributions to development, and their social and political rights (United Nations, 1975). The International Labour Organization (ILO), also, convened

several conferences to create an awareness among both men and women of the women's rights to employment and equal opportunities.

While the fifties were a period of consciousness-raising, the sixties and early seventies were marked with conferences oriented more toward policy-making (United Nations, 1975). During this period, a more thorough examination of the role of rural women in the economy was carried out and recommendations were made as how to integrate them better into the process of national development.

Maguire summarizes the obstacles to women's increased participation, as presented by the development agencies, as the following:

- "traditions, attitudes and prejudices against women's participation;
- legal barriers;
- limited access to and use of formal education resulting in high female illiteracy;
- limited access to labor force and preparatory vocational, technical or agricultural training due to illiteracy;
- time consuming nature of women's 'chores';
- lack of access to land, credit, modern agricultural equipment, techniques and extension services;
- health burden of frequent pregnancies and malnutrition;
- undermining of women's traditional position as economically contributing partners;
- inadequate research and information on women which limited ability of development planners to create projects relevant to women" (Maguire, 1984, p. 13).

In 1971, based on the findings and recommendations of the previous conferences (Lagos, 1963; Accra, 1968; Addis Abeba, 1969; Rabat, 1971; Brazzaville, 1971; Libreville, 1971), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) drew up the "Five Year Programme on Pre-vocational and Vocational Training of Girls and Women Towards Their Full Participation in Development" (UNECA, 1972). This five-year plan which was formulated for the period 1972-1976, consisted of five study and action areas:

"1. The Impact of Modernization on the Role of Rural Women;

2. Women in Wage Employment;

3. Self-Employed Women in Marketing, Industry and the Services;

4. Pre-vocational and Vocational Training of the School-Leaver Girls;

5. Planning for the participation of Women as Human Resources in National Development" (UNECA, 1972, p. 12).

In December 1972, the United Nations General Assembly, in its resolution 3010 (XXVII), declared 1975 to be the International Women's Year (United Nations, 1975). Furthermore, the period 1975-1985 was proclaimed the decade of women.

Other organizations such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) soon followed suite. In 1973, the "Percy Amendment" was added to the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act. It states that in recognition of the significant role women play in the economy of the developing countries, special attention would be given

to those programs which aim at integrating women in the national development and improving their status (USAID, n.d.). After this mandate, AID created the Women in Development Office.

In 1975, during the International Women's Year, the United Nations called for a World Conference at Mexico City which attracted about one hundred countries and resulted in a World Plan of Action for the Decade of the Women (USAID, n.d.). According to this plan, the goal was to achieve the following by 1980:

- an increase in civic education and literacy among women, especially in the rural areas;
- technical and vocational training provided for men and women in industry and agriculture;
- equal access to education for all, compulsory education, and efforts to prevent school dropouts;
- attempts to eliminate discrimination against employment of women; an increase in the job opportunities for women to reduce unemployment;
- an increase in the number of women occupying the administrative and policy-making positions at the local, national, and international levels;
- the recognition of the economic importance of women's work in the home, domestic food production and marketing;
- the formal, informal and lifelong education directed towards realization of the value of men and women both as individuals and as members of the society;
- the establishment and promotion of women's organizations; and
- the originating of governmental machineries to ensure the integration of women in national development.

The World Conference of the United States Decade for Women held in 1980 was given the task of reviewing the achievement of the first half of the Decade for Women. Report of this conference emphasized the negative impact of the current development policies on women and pointed out that women's increased involvement in economic activities has resulted in their increased exploitation.

The economic opportunities available to African women fall, primarily, into two categories: wage employment in export oriented industries, and small-scale, home-based production and trading. In either case, women work under unfavorable terms and conditions, and because they lack organizations, they are open to exploitation (these points will be discussed at length in Chapter II).

The present study uses Swaziland as an example of women's involvement in home-based production through income-generating activities and argues that the rural Swazi women have not been given favorable opportunities for gainful employment. It is further argued that women's income-generating projects in Swaziland are not part of the mainstream development strategies. If more fundamental changes in women's equal access to the resources necessary for, and control over the process and benefits of economic activities are not carried out, the "increase" in women's participation in rural development will result in little positive change in their economic status.

Based on the above arguments, the following sections of this chapter will focus on a description of what has gone wrong with the Income-Generating Projects (IGPs) in Swaziland, what the purpose of

the present study is, and finally, what limitations exist in the scope of the study.

In Chapter II, a discussion of the current and past roles of African women in rural development, and the impact of development strategies on their economic status will be presented. Chapter III will focus on the social and economic situation of Swaziland and highlights the contribution of women to rural development in this country. Chapter IV provides an overview of the income-generating network in Swaziland as the main forum for women's employment opportunities. While this chapter emphasizes the ideological and structural organization of IGPs, Chapter V studies the impact of these projects on the social and economic aspects of rural women's life. Finally, Chapter VI includes the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

One of the areas which has received ample attention during the past decade is the Income-Generating Projects (IGPs). These projects were set up to teach rural women skills through which they could become self-employed. IGPs either attempt to upgrade the skills traditionally used by rural African women, or teach them new skills. Their popularity has partly been due to the fact that self-employed women will not have to depend on an already saturated and competitive job market, and partly due to the flexibility of the working hours and choice of the place of work.

Like many other African countries, Swaziland has also welcomed the idea of IGPs for both men and women. However, the emphasis of this study is on projects especially designed for women and aiming at self-employment rather than wage labor.

Swaziland is one of the smallest countries in Africa with an area of 17,364 square kilometers and a population of about half a million. About 80% of the population is based in the rural areas where subsistence agriculture is the basis of the economy. According to the Third National Development Plan (1978/79-1982/83), each year about 7,000 people with some primary or secondary education enter the labor force while the formal sector is only able to provide jobs for 3,000 of them (Government of Swaziland, n.d.). It is estimated that about 25,000 workers are temporarily absent, mostly working in the Republic of South Africa as migrant laborers (ibid.).

While men can seek employment in the industrial and urban areas within and outside Swaziland, lower educational levels, as well as physical, cultural and traditional factors, generally, limit the mobility of women in seeking wage employment. Many women, therefore, prefer to be self-employed so that they can have a source of income to assist their family, while at the same time be able to carry on with their everyday tasks at home and on the farm. Income-Generating Projects give women the opportunity to upgrade their traditional skills, or learn new ones mostly along the same lines, and secure a source of income through selling their products.

In order to get a realistic picture of the income-generating activities in Swaziland, it is essential to examine the scope and contents, as well as the shortcomings that exist in the planning and implementation of such programs.

Relative to the size of the country's population, Swaziland has a fair number of IGPs. However, these programs are not able to meet the demand for their services. IGPs which are designed for women, fall into two categories -- those which from the beginning were set up to give women skills for self-employment, and those which started with home economic and home improvement programs and then an income-generating component was added to them.

All of these programs are quite similar in the types of skills they offer. However, they do vary in the number of skills they teach their participants. These skills include sewing, knitting, tie and dye, batik, weaving (baskets and mats), beadwork, pottery, shoemaking, crochet and tatting. The projects with a home-economic component also offer advice in health, nutrition, child care, cookery, as well as animal raising and gardening, mostly for improving the level of nutrition. An exception is the USAID's Pig-raising Project which encourages raising pigs for commercial use.

Women's income-generating programs vary both in size of operation as well as amount and sources of funding. Some are locally funded and provide intensive residential training. Some others have regular weekly meetings. While church organizations have relatively

smaller projects, programs set up by such international organizations as UN and USAID operate on a larger scale.

Women's IGPs in Swaziland can be divided into three nonexclusive categories:

1. Those set up by religious organizations such as the Swaziland Catholic Mission Program and Lubhaca;
2. Those supported primarily by international organizations. These are the Lundzi-Mpuluzi Pig Project, funded by USAID; and the Women in Development Project which is set up by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
3. Those which for the most part are organized and funded by the Swaziland government. These are: the Home-Economics 8-month Training Course, a residential program; Women's Associations, women's groups in the rural areas; and Lutsango Vocational Center, another residential course.

After having gone through the training, many women experience frustration at the lack of buyers for their products. A visit to some of the handicraft markets shows that, with some exceptions, most products lack variety and are in need of quality improvement.

The question of lack of market is an important issue. In some projects, staff members attempt to find markets for the goods produced by their trainees. An example of this is the case of school uniforms. Some school principals have agreed to buy the school uniforms from the women producers instead of importing them from the Republic of South

Africa. While these limited and scattered efforts at finding markets are appreciated by some women, many others are still in urgent need of new markets.

Lack of a market, while seemingly the most serious problem, is not the only one. In the absence of cooperatives and a central coordinating body for all the IGPs, women producers continue to be responsible for the purchase of raw materials and transportation as well as marketing of their products. It is not unusual to find women buying their raw materials at retail prices in towns.

In light of the above mentioned issues, it appears that:

1. The planning of IGPs is carried out in isolation from the rural and national development plans. Income-generating projects for women are considered entities separate from the country's economic plan, partly because they only cater to women and therefore exclude men who are traditionally considered to be the major contributors to the economy. This situation is further aggravated by the lack of a delegate in the economic planning body of the government who could represent women's organizations. The only women's organization, i.e., Lutsanga, which is headed by a woman senator, has more social and cultural functions than an economic role.
2. There is no central body to coordinate women's IGPs. As a result, these projects have a limited liaison with each other and with the relevant government and private organizations, thus

losing the support of a network which could otherwise provide a flow of information and resources.

3. There is a lack of diversity in the type of skills taught by the projects. They are generally concentrating on the so-called "women's skills" such as sewing, knitting, and crocheting. Little attention is given to other areas for self-employment such as crops and vegetables, animal husbandry, fish farming, home-based assembly units, etc. As a result, the market is filled with great quantities of the same items and not much profit can be realized.
4. The introduction of skills is, generally, not based on any marketing research, or realistic needs assessment. While lack of market seems to be considered as the classical reason for the problems of the self-employed women in earning cash income, the fact remains that project planners fail to design the IGPs with an understanding of the marketing and economic needs and capacity of the country. The question posed here is whose responsibility it is to provide a supporting system for women who have finished their income-generating training.
5. In order that women can be successful in self-employment, they should have certain management and business skills. However, these skills are generally not taught at the projects, thus forcing women to work without the necessary knowledge of pricing, bookkeeping, marketing, etc. Furthermore, since many

women do not have the initial capital or lack the knowledge of, or access to, credit and loan institutions, they are unable to use their skills for generating income.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The ultimate purpose of the study was to identify those factors in women's IGPs which hinder or contribute to the success of such activities, and to make recommendations to project planners and government officials on how to improve the outcomes of such projects.

More specifically, the purpose of the study is:

a. To examine the current policy towards rural development in Swaziland, and how women's contributions are regarded by policy makers.

b. To portray the role of Swazi women in rural development and identify the means through which they can contribute to the rural economy.

c. To find out if the popular notion of women's IGPs is, indeed, upgrading the rural economy and if so, to what degree.

d. To examine the existing women's IGPs through the study of the organizational structure and resources of programs, as well as conducting a follow up on the participants.

e. To identify the problems existing in these projects and faced by self-employed women.

f. To identify the factors leading to success or failure of IGPs.

g. To make recommendations to project planners for improving the IGPs and increasing their positive outcomes.

h. To make recommendations to policy makers for the better integration of women's projects into the rural development policy.

1.4 Significance of the Study

In order to slow down the rapidly increasing rate of unemployment in Swaziland, and to encourage the young people to live and work in the rural areas, the government has been recently encouraging self-employment schemes. Talks are under way to establish a youth training center which would teach the young people, especially the school drop-outs, skills for self-employment.

Rural Education Centers (RECs) have, since late 1976, been involved in teaching adults such skills as carpentry, sewing, metalwork, weaving, and agriculture. Interestingly, women form the majority of the participants in the REC programs. Besides the above mentioned projects, there are several that are designed specifically for women. These projects have had a considerable growth in number and size.

Considering the fact that income-generating projects have been the major vehicle designed for providing employment to the rural women, little effort has been made to document, analyze, and assess the impacts of such projects. If IGPs are to be responsible for

providing self-employment and helping the rural economy, it is essential to have a thorough knowledge of the planning processes, organizational structure, and the projects' needs and problems before such programs are expanded and/or are expected to help their participants to secure a source of cash income.

This study will be the first attempt in the critical analysis of the current policies towards the provision of employment opportunities in general, and income generating projects, in particular, to the rural Swazi women. Although the focus of the study is on women's programs, it is expected that the proposed recommendations will be beneficial to other IGP projects in Swaziland, as well, for two reasons. First, as mentioned before, the majority of the participants in most other income-generating projects are women and secondly, because it is predicted that in the absence of a coordinating body which could assist all IGPs, these programs all face similar difficulties irrespective of the size of their operation or amount of resources currently available to them.

It was further envisaged that with the presentation of the results of the study at a seminar in Swaziland, attention of the project personnel and government policymakers would be drawn to the existing issues.

And finally, it is the hope of the researcher that the recommendations of the proposed study, not only will be beneficial to the situation of IGPs in Swaziland, but could be generalized to similar programs in other parts of Africa.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The most significant limitations of the study can be summarized as the following:

a. Lack of documentation on women's income-generating activities.

The literature on the existing situation and problems of self-employed women in Africa is rather limited and mostly descriptive than analytical. As a result no theories regarding the situation, needs and activities of the self-employed women exist based on which the situation of the women in Swaziland can be analyzed.

b. Lack of documentation on women's situation in Swaziland, in general, and self-employed women in particular.

The existing literature on the roles and conditions of Swazi women in the household and community are extremely limited. This particularly applies to the decision-making and household expenditure patterns as well as the needs and problems of those who are self-employed.

c. Lack of baseline data on participants in income-generating projects.

Virtually no statistics are available on the living and working conditions of self-employed women prior to their involvement with IGPs in Swaziland. A valid comparison of the present and past situations of women involved in IGPs, or the comparison of the effects of various

projects would, therefore, prove to be very difficult. It is in view of these limitations that no attempt will be made to draw causal conclusions as to the impact of the projects under the study.

Despite the limitations of the chosen design, the exploratory approach of the study will be accurate and appropriate since it takes the form of information generation, using descriptive data which could be used as baseline information for future studies.

CHAPTER II

AFRICAN WOMEN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT:[1] AN OVERVIEW

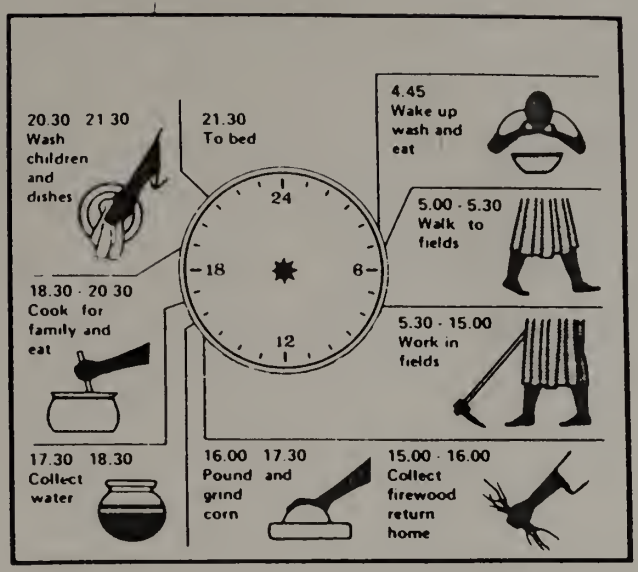
2.1 Introduction

Ever since 1975, the first International Women's Year, women have become the focus of attention of development planners and agencies. Based on the assumption that women had been ignored by the development process and needed to contribute more "productively" to the world economy, development planners devised strategies to utilize the labor of this half of the potential work force. Educational and training programs were seen as the vehicles for greater involvement of women in economic activities and "productivity."

Today's rural African women, however, are already burdened with heavy tasks, not only at home and in relation to their family but also in agriculture.

> She rises before dawn and walks to the fields. In the busy seasons, she spends some nine to ten hours hoeing, planting, weeding or harvesting. She brings food and fuel home from the farm, walks long distances for water carrying a pot which may weigh 20 kilograms or more, grinds and pounds grains, cleans the house, cooks while nursing her infant, washes the dishes and clothes, minds the children, and generally cares for the household. She processes and stores food and markets excess produce, often walking long distances with heavy loads in difficult terrain. She must also attend to the family's social obligations such as weddings and funerals (UNECA, 1975, p. 2).

Figure 2.1.1. A day in the life of a typical rural African woman.



Source: Crehan, 1984.

In this chapter, it is argued that development strategies, as they stand today, leave women with undesirable options in the sphere of economic activities. Rural African women are offered two choices: they can either get involved in home-based income-generating activities, or join the ranks of wage laborers in the industries. In both cases, women face exploitation. In the former, they are isolated, unorganized and without access to employment or unemployment benefits. Women are particularly sought after by national and international industries to work as wage laborers since they are less likely to unionize and protest against their low paying jobs and the hazardous working conditions.

The chapter, therefore, begins with the discussion of the various ways in which today's rural African women contribute to rural development, and their access to resources. The two sections immediately following this discussion, deal with the role of African women in the traditional pre-colonial societies, and how the process of economic development affected their situation. Section six provides a historical perspective on the reasons why women became the focus of attention of development strategies. The impact of the new development strategies on the economic position of African women, and a discussion of income-generating projects as one of the two major options of women's economic activities will appear in sections seven and eight, respectively.

While acknowledging the complicated and multiple roles of rural African women as individuals, mothers, wives, and members of society, this chapter focuses primarily on the economic position of the women.

2.2 What Have Women Done for Development?

2.2.1 Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

There are great variations in the mode of participation of women in farming activities in the various parts of Africa. However, it is estimated that about two-thirds of the agricultural work on this continent is carried out by women (UNECA, 1974a & 1975). Table 2.2.1.1 shows a breakdown of the labor used in different farming and non-farming activities in the rural areas in Africa.

SIDA (1974) reports that in Kenya and Tanzania women do all the agricultural work except for clearing the land and burning the grass. Men, on the other hand, are responsible for growing and processing commercial crops. A study of women farmers in the Kakamega District of Kenya further showed that "most women are full-time farmers both in the sense of the number of hours they work daily and of continuity throughout life. Men, by contrast, tend to seek out employment during youth and middle age and retire to the farm when old" (Staudt, 1977, p. 9).[2]

Women in Malawi grow most of the subsistence food (such as garden peas, beans, tomatoes and groundnuts) and at the same time help

Table 2.2.1.1

The Division of Labor in Rural Africa

Activities	Percent of total labor in hours	
	Women	Men
Cuts down the forest; stakes out the fields	5	95
Turns the soil	30	70
Plants the seeds and cuttings	50	50
Hoes and weeds	70	30
Harvests	60	40
Transports crops home from the fields	80	20
Stores the crops	80	20
Processes the food crops	90	10
Markets surplus crops (including transport to the market)	60	40
Trims the tree crops	10	90
Carries the water and the fuel	90	10
Cares for the domestic animals and cleans the stables	50	50
Hunts	10	90
Feeds and cares for the young, the men and the aged	95	5

Source: United Nations, Women of Africa: Today and Tomorrow, UNECA/Women's Program, 1975.

harvest the maize produced by men (Brown, 1971). In Mozambique, women contribute the major part of labor in the traditional agricultural system, and have joined in the economic activities of "communal villages" and production cooperatives (Isaacman & Stephen, 1980). The rural Swazi women, with the help of their children perform about two-thirds of the farm work (World Bank, 1977; USAID, 1980).[3]

In West Africa, women still contribute to the agricultural work despite their heavy involvement in trading. In Guinea, Gambia (now part of Senegambia), Mali, Niger, and Upper Volta rice cultivation is primarily done by women (ATRCW/UNECA, 1975). In Western Ghana, however, men are responsible for growing most of the food while women cultivate groundnuts and are engaged in trading (Ibid., 1975). Among the Wolof in Senegal, men are primarily responsible for growing the staple food (millet) while women produce grundnuts and sell the crops (Venema, 1980). Karl (1983b) reports that the Bambara women of Mali, in the villages around Segou, share all the tasks done on the family field. They spread organic fertilizers, weed, secure the fields against animals, harvest and transport crops. Moreover they work on their own individual plots to grow the family food.[4]

The existence of the system of "purdah" among the Moslem women has created the notion that these women are not involved in economic activities. This, however, is a misconception since the traditional and religious barriers tend to hide and undermine Moslem women's economic activities even more than those of other women. Women in Egypt, for example, are involved in ploughing, harvesting, animal

husbandry and poultry schemes (Aboul-Seoud, 1979). A study of the women in Sudan showed that the rural Moslem women were actively involved in agriculture. Their contribution, however, was found to be limited to "traditional" farming as mechanized agriculture would necessitate contact with strange men--a taboo for these women (ATRCW/UNECA, 1974).

Women's contribution to subsistence agriculture takes the form of a full chain of activities, i.e., food production, processing, storage, transportation, and marketing. Women's work in agriculture is by no means limited to subsistence farming only. They also provide a great part of the labor needed on their husband's plots in growing cash crops, or work as wage laborers on other people's farms. The Kenyan Tea Development Authority reports that much of the hired labor in smallholder tea cultivation in Kenya is comprised of women (Lele, 1975). Women's labor also extends to the area of animal husbandry which has, traditionally, been part of men's tasks. In pastoral societies, although men own the livestock, women may have access to the milk but have to tend the sheep and goats, milk the cows and clean the stables (Reynolds, 1975). In Lesotho, where almost half of the male labor force migrates to the mines and plantations in South Africa, women do the herding and tending of the livestock (Pala, 1974a). Besides looking after the cattle of their husbands, many rural women also raise chicken and pigs, keep bees and grow fruits and vegetables both for home consumption and for sale.

Women's involvement in animal husbandry is just one of the manifestations of the changes that have occurred in the sexual division of labor in agriculture. Handling of the larger animals by women has been a taboo in many cultures. However, economic necessity seems to have modified certain aspects of the traditional beliefs and norms, therefore, adding to women's responsibilities. It is generally believed that the shift from subsistence economy to market economy as part of the "development process" resulted in an increase in the workload of the rural African women (see for example, FAO, 1972; Boserup, 1970; Pala, 1978; Jacobs, 1984).[5]

Several factors could explain this phenomenon. When men took up cash cropping, the same division of labor that existed in subsistence farming, was carried over to agricultural production for the market. This meant that women not only had to continue their subsistence food production, but also had to work on their husband's farm as "unpaid family labor." Husband's demand for their wives labor for cash crops could not help but increase the workload of the women (Boserup, 1970; Hanger, 1977; UN, 1977). In addition, the migration of men in search of wage employment during (and after) the colonial time, burdened women even further. In the absence of men, they had to maintain the same level of food production or even increase it (van Allen, 1976). The minimal wages the men received, not only were not sufficient to support their family (or hire farm labor), but at times made it necessary for the wives to send food to their husbands in town (Hay, 1976).

Migration is still one of the important factors in the life of African women today. Although women also migrate, it is mostly men that leave the rural areas in search of jobs in the urban and industrial areas within or outside their own countries. In some extreme cases like in Lesotho,[6] as many as half of the male labor force leave the rural areas in search of employment. The result is the creation of a rural workforce, primarily made up of women who as de facto heads of the household have to care for their family without much help from their absentee husbands.[7]

The emergence of larger families due to better health care and the reduction in the availability of children for farm work due to their higher participation in education, are also factors increasing the responsibility and work load of women as regards food production. This is in face of the fact that some of the traditional patterns of assistance such as mutual help groups and work parties have also been on the decrease.

The picture emerging out of the present pattern of the sexual division of labor in rural Africa, shows women mainly responsible for the subsistence food production (with men assisting with such strenuous tasks as clearing the land), while men attend to cash crops (receiving women's assistance in time consuming tasks such as weeding, hoeing, and harvesting) (Pala, 1974b; SIDA, 1974; Boserup, 1970). However, experience has shown that whenever there is a profitable market for food crops, men seem to be willing to give women more assistance in production, for a share of the profit (Lele, 1975).

2.2.2 Contribution of Women to the Family Cash Income[8]

Rural women all over Africa are involved in various forms of income-generating activities in order to assist with the cash requirements of their families. The form and extent of such activities naturally vary with the socio-economic, religious and political atmosphere of, and the resources available in their communities. While some women engage in wage employment, self-employment in the form of small-scale production and trading seems to be prevalent among the majority of rural women. They sell cooked food, surplus agricultural products, handicrafts, animal products, and at times imported consumer goods. Many women in Eastern and Southern Africa engage in trading only on a part-time basis, i.e., a few times a month. By contrast, women in West Africa seem to be more seriously involved in trading, both in terms of the number of women involved and the amount of time invested in this work. It is speculated that about 80 percent of the petty traders in West Africa are women (UNECA, 1974b).

The degree of involvement of women in trading activities varies from well organized production and distribution units (such as the activities of "fish-mammies" in Liberia and handicraft producers in Botswana), to individual women peddling their products a few days a month in the urban markets. While, especially in West Africa, some women have entered into large-scale international enterprises, the majority are involved in small scale or petty trading. The concentration of women on petty trading is, in itself, an indication

of their limited access to more permanent and gainful sources of employment.

2.2.3 Role of Women in Community Self-help Projects

One of the most prevalent policies towards rural development is the establishment of community self-help projects. In these efforts, rural amenities such as roads, market places, input and output sheds, water supply systems and schools are built with the assistance of the local communities. People's contributions to these projects are mostly in the form of labor, although when possible, they make other contributions both in cash and kind.

Women, forming the majority of the population in the rural areas in most African societies, do a great portion of the work necessary for the self-help projects. Poulson (1983) indicates that almost 80 percent more women than men are active in such projects in Swaziland. In Lesotho, women build 90 percent of the roads under food-for-work and similar programs; and in Kenya, women provide about 80 percent of the labor input of self-help projects (UNECA, 1974b).

2.3 Women's Access to Resources

2.3.1 Education and Training

During the pre-colonial time, young men and women were educated through such traditional channels as age groups or regiments, and

initiation ceremonies (Reynolds, 1975). The instructions they received, covered various aspects of community life from history to skills training and warfare, and had an informal and, in many cases, practical nature. During the colonial period, however, preference was given to "academic" education which, in accordance with the European value systems, was the privilege of males. It should be noted that one of the primary reasons for the establishment of this new educational system was to prepare a few selected men for work in clerical capacity in the colonial administration.[9]

The main contrasts between the traditional and new form of education were differences in the selection of the target group and the orientation of the educational program. In its traditional form, education was open to men as well as women, albeit for different skills. It was an ongoing process, whose aim was not only to train the community members in practical skills, but to ensure the continuity of customs and traditions and a proper socialization of the younger members of the society. The modern educational system, by contrast, was completely biased towards men and emphasized a highly valued "academic" education. The result was that "formal education"[10] provided the only access to wage employment in the government sector and came to be viewed as the key to employment, wealth, prestige and success in life (Reynolds, 1975).

Today, as far as the formal education in Africa is concerned, men attend school more often and for longer periods than women

(Huston, 1975; Derryck, 1978; Safilios-Rothschild, 1979). Table 2.3.1.1 provides some statistics on the participation of men and women in education in Africa.

As the table indicates, in the majority of the countries, women's rate of literacy and level of formal education are lower than that of men. The literature suggests that the factors contributing to this phenomenon are a combination of attitudinal, social and economic constraints (UNDP, 1980; UNECA, 1979; Reynolds, 1975; Derryck, 1978; Safilios-Rothschild, 1979). These are:

1. Women do not need education since all they have to learn is to be good wives;
2. Women move away after marriage, therefore any investment in their education will be "wasted";
3. Women's education should be along the line of "feminine" and "domestic" duties such as cooking, child care, etc., and therefore they do not need formal (i.e., academic) education;
4. Even when women do get education, it should not go beyond primary school;
5. Education spoils girls, i.e., makes them disobedient;
6. Boys are more capable of learning than girls;
7. Girls' negative opinion about themselves;
8. Girls get married at an early age;
9. Pregnancy of the girls at school age results in their dropping out of school;
10. Purdah considerations in Moslem countries restrict the movements of women and girls and their access to the outside world;
11. Girls have few role models to follow;
12. Girls are usually kept at home to help with the housework;
13. If funds are limited in the family, boys are given preference over girls;
14. Schools and teachers are scarce in many parts of Africa.

Considering the above factors, the present situation of women vis-à-vis formal education comes as little surprise.[14] Although

Table 2.3.1.1

Comparative Education Statistics in Some African Countries

Country	% enrolled in school 1975, 6-11 years age bracket		% enrolled in school 1975, 12-17 years age bracket		Adult literacy (in percents)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Angola	68	43	24	16	4	2
Botswana	66	76	33	42	30	35
Lesotho	65	94	53	77	44	68
Malawi	49	39	61	30	34	12
Mozambique	56	31	17	8	15	8
Namibia	--	--	--	--	45	31
South Africa	84	86	76	72	57	57
Swaziland	75	75	59	55	31	28
Tanzania	49	35	35	21	43	15
Zambia	75	70	64	42	61	34
Zimbawe	73	61	39	19	48	31
Southern Africa	60	55	41	35	37	29
Total Africa	59	43	39	24	33	15

-- = not available

Source: Jirira, 1983.

formal education does not guarantee employment, the lack of it limits women's opportunities for gainful employment even more.

Women's available choices in "nonformal education"[12] and their options in vocational training are not more promising. The orientation of these educational systems is such that it directs boys to more marketable skills while girls are more prepared for their future "domestic" roles (Boserup, 1970; Coombs & Ahmed, 1974; Reynolds, 1975; ATRCW/UNECA, 1978; Lele, 1975). It has been estimated that almost half of the nonformal courses offered to women are in the field of domestic science (UNECA, 1972, 1974b). Women's chances of being admitted to vocational schools are less compared to men. When they do get accepted, however, the options open to them are such that they become typists or teachers without much access to higher level positions (see for example, Derryck, 1978).

One of the most important areas from which women have been left out, is training in agriculture and animal husbandry. Despite the fact that women are the major producers of subsistence food and head between 25 and 33 percent of all the households in the world (Tinker, 1976; Germaine, 1976/77; Buvinic, 1977), their access to agricultural training programs, extension services, cooperatives, and loan and credit facilities have remained limited (UNECA, 1974b; Boserup, 1970; Reynolds, 1975; Pala, 1974; Ritchie, 1977; Huston, 1979). Derryck (1978a) reports that women have access only to 15 percent of the slots in the farmers' training centers.

A study of the delivery of agricultural services to female farmers in Kakamega District of Kenya in 1977 showed that while 40 percent of the farmers in the sample were women,[13] almost half had never been visited by agricultural instructors (as opposed to little over one-quarter of the male farmers) (Staudt, 1977). The study, further showed that only 10 percent of the female farmers knew about or had ever applied for loans. Although about 30 percent of the farmers in the Lilongwe Land Development Project, Malawi, are women, their rate of participation in farmers' training courses is minimal (Lele, 1975). Magagula (1978) observes that women farmers in Swaziland have limited access to agricultural extension advice. He reports that as a result, they use less fertilizer, purchase less external inputs, apply less frequently for loans, hire less farm equipment and are, in general less encouraged to become "good" farmers.

As a result of the unequal delivery of the extension services, the gap between the labor productivity of men and women continues to widen.[14] While men are taught to apply modern ways of cultivation, women continue to use the traditional methods, thus getting much less out of their labor. The inevitable result is that women are discouraged from participating in agriculture, and if possible, prefer to abandon it and look for alternative occupations (Boserup, 1970). The neglect of subsistence food production by many governments has also resulted in the decline in the levels of food production, and consequently a lower nutritional status for the whole family (Chaney,

1980; Huston, 1979; Hanger, 1973; Bukh, 1977; Muntemba, 1982; Steady, 1981).

With the existing limitations on the access of women to formal and vocational education, nonformal education has taken the leading role in their training. This type of education acts as a compensatory program which assists women in securing a foothold in the market economy. The nature of such programs, however, has come under attack from various sides. It has been charged that even the UN agencies (i.e., UNDP, ILO, FAO, UNICEF) have directed their nonformal educational programs for women towards home economics and have systematically excluded industrial, technical and mechanical skills from these programs (ICRW, 1980a).

Many skills training programs for women seem to aim for immediate cash results for their participants, rather than long term employment. Derryck (1978) warns that if nonformal education continues to act in place of the formal education, there will be two ramifications. First, the pressure on the formal educational system to accept girls will reduce, limiting the opportunities of women to only those skills which may have immediate benefits but do not promise better and more permanent employment. Secondly, women's training will be mostly for semiskilled and skilled jobs such as for clerks, secretaries, laborers, etc., leaving highly skilled managerial and technical jobs to men. In short, emphasis on nonformal education without the availability of formal education decreases the opportunity

of women for high positions in decision making. Derryck (1978), further maintains that if the present pattern of education continues, a dual system will be created in which formal education is characterized by higher salary and status than nonformal education. This is particularly true since in the final analysis, more value is put on the outcomes of formal education (whether it is in the form of knowledge or degree), than those in nonformal education.[15]

Despite Derryck's cautions, one should not forget that nonformal education is the only form of training available to most rural women. They have either never been part of, or have dropped out of the formal education system and plugging them back into the formal system is not feasible. However, the provision of formal, as well as nonformal education has important significance for future generations (ICRW, 1980a).

2.3.2 Land, Credit and Cooperatives

Given women's important roles in food production, one would expect that they would become the focus of attention of development strategies concerned with food production. However, in spite of long hours invested in agricultural work, women have little input in the decisions made about the farm. While it would make sense to reduce women's workload in the household, and increase their agricultural skills and services and inputs such as land, credit and cooperatives, men seem to have appropriated the major role in agricultural development projects (Karl, 1983a).

Rights to land and water resources, and access to cooperatives and loan and credit facilities are essential to the effective participation of farmers in the economic life of their societies. Women as important contributors to agricultural production, however, receive little share of these resources. No matter whether land is distributed on the basis of "right of use" or ownership, it is men who are the recipients. In Kenya, for example, where over 40 percent of the households are headed by women, only 5 percent of the women own land in their own name (Feldman, 1984). They, therefore, remain dependent on men for access to land for cultivation.

Even in socialist countries of Africa such as in Tanzania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, where reforms have been introduced in various aspects of women's lives, little has been done to increase women's access to land (Jacobs, 1984; Reynolds, 1975; Isaacman & Stephen, 1980; Brain, 1976).

Access to cooperatives and loan and credit facilities in most parts of Africa are also for the most part a prerogative of men. The major obstacles in the way of women's access to formal credit and loan institutions are their lack of familiarity with the functions and application procedures of these facilities, lack of collateral such as land or heavy farming equipments, the unsuitability of the size, terms and repayment schedules of available loans, and the cultural and social attitudes that discourage women's involvement (Reno, 1981; IWTC, 1981; Buvinic et al., 1979). Although during the past decade

various efforts have been made to provide more loan and credit facilities,[16] many women still prefer the indigenous rather than modern forms of credit. These indigenous forms include borrowing from relatives and friends, money lenders or revolving funds organized by women who have formed groups (Pala, 1979; Okonjo, 1979; Lewis, 1976).

In many countries the establishment of formal agricultural cooperatives has primarily been for the purpose of assisting those farmers engaged in cash cropping. Subsistence farmers and especially women have limited access to the services offered by such facilities.

In order to understand why women have been discriminated against in various spheres of their work, it will, first, be necessary to examine the historical process of division of labor based on sex and women's access to resources.

2.4 Role of African Women in Traditional Pre-colonial Societies

A number of documents highlighting the role of African women in agriculture, raising animals and trading, testify that women have been the major producers of food for family consumption in their communities. Bauman (1928) carried out extensive studies on the division of labor between the sexes in various eastern, southern and central African societies. He observed that in African hoe culture (i.e., where hoe was the major tool used for farming), men were

generally responsible for clearing the land only during a limited period of time throughout the year. Women, on the other hand, grew root crops, vegetables and spices and their work was spread throughout the agricultural year. He observed that among the Konde people of Tanzania, for example, men were cultivating fruits and perennial crops. They, however, were traditionally barred from growing the essential vegetables and had to depend on women for their production (Bauman, 1928).

Reviewing the research studies done in northeastern Uganda, southern Sudan and northern Kenya, Pala (1976b) reports that in these societies, men were responsible for hunting, herding and warfare, while women were involved in hoeing, planting and weeding. She reports that men's and women's work were highly complementary and equal in terms of daily economic activities.

In her study of the Pondo women of South Africa, Hunter (1933) observed that before colonization, Pondo women had the major responsibility for growing maize and millet which formed the staple food of the community. They hoed, planted, weeded and helped maintain their houses by thatching and plastering.

Research findings from west Africa also emphasize the important role of women in food production. Meek (1983) reports that among the Jukun-speaking tribes of Nigeria, women were not only in charge of growing crops, but processing it as well.

The available literature on the traditional division of labor between the sexes during the pre-colonial period generally points to

several common features. First, women's and men's tasks were clearly differentiated from each other, however, the spheres of work were not fixed and differed according to the socio-economic, political, geographical, and historical factors in various societies (Hafkin, 1976). Notwithstanding these variations, men were, in many societies, responsible for hunting, fishing, and animal husbandry while women were the agriculturalists (see for example Boserup, 1970; Pala, 1974a; Kuper, 1947; Meek, 1931). Therefore, on the one hand, women were responsible for contributing to the family food supply (either through cultivation or gathering), and, on the other hand, they had to perform their roles as mothers and wives. This would mean that they were also responsible for not only child bearing, but child rearing, caring for the old and the sick, contributing to and taking part in social events, doing domestic chores, and helping with the physical maintenance of their dwellings.

Since in African societies large families were a norm, one of the most important tasks of women became the bearing and rearing of children. The reasons for the prevalence of large families were a combination of socio-economic factors, i.e., need for additional labor to work on the farm; need for social security against old age; ensuring the continuity of the family and clan; sign of men's sexual power; and the anticipation of children's immature death (United Nations, 1974b). The child bearing aspect of women's role was also closely tied to their responsibility for food production both necessary for the continuity and sustenance of the family and the major features of women's responsibilities.

Brown (1970) suggests that women's responsibility for child care is the major factor shaping the traditional pattern of the division of labor. She argues that there is no society in which men have had the primary responsibility for child care, whereas in the majority of societies women are responsible for the subsistence production for the family. Women's responsibility towards their children and husband would, therefore, necessitate the physical proximity of the women to their home. The economic activities of the women would, then, have to be subject to this necessity and have to be compatible with their other responsibilities. As a result, women cannot usually embark on tasks that require long periods of absence from the house. Agricultural activities not only provide flexibility vis-à-vis other tasks, but also meet part of the economic needs of the family. "The nature of agricultural activities on the subsistence production unit--which allows the producer to be in control of the productive process, working on one's own pace while attending to other tasks--is more compatible with women's biological reproduction requirements if having as many children as possible is viewed by the family as economic necessity" (Deere, 1979, p. 144).

Another aspect of the division of labor was the lack of a clear distinction between the "domestic" and "public" domains[17] of women's activities the way it exists today in the Western world. Women's "domestic" work was not and could not be limited to the immediate nuclear family due to polygamy, the extended family structure, and the

individual-kinship relationship. The "public" domain, moreover, generally included the community which in most cases was composed of one's own relatives and clan members. The protection extended by the clan to its members had to be reciprocated by each individual. Therefore, assistance offered to a relation could fall both in the category of domestic and public responsibilities of a woman. As a result, there existed considerable economic overlap between the "domestic" and "public" spheres, and women's economic role was part and parcel of their domestic role (Sudarkasa, 1981).

The value attached to the work performed by each sex is another feature of the pattern of division of labor. Steady (1981) claims that during the pre-colonial era, women were encouraged to be self reliant and contribute to the family economy. She concludes that since women were producers and owners of the crops, they enjoyed a position parallel to that of men and their work was considered of equal value. Others, however, believe that in certain societies women's work, in comparison to men's, enjoyed less value. For example, Kuper (1947) states that while Swazi women played crucial roles in the family and on the farm, the value attached to their work was lower than that for men.

Whether women's work was or was not perceived to be of high value, it seems that among many tribes they had equal access to the means and benefits of production. In many societies such as in

Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Pondo Peoples of South Africa, women owned or had access to a piece of land for the cultivation of family food (see for example, Brain, 1976; Jacob, 1984; Hunter, 1933). Furthermore, they made the decisions concerning the production and disposal of their crops (Pala, 1974a; Boserup, 1970; Kuper, 1947). The literature also implies that in some societies (such as among the Konde of Tanzania and some tribes in Nigeria), men were completely dependent on women for certain crops and had to seek their permission to consume or dispose of the produce (Bauman, 1928; Meek, 1931). In view of women's ownership of the crop, if there was any food surplus, it would be the women's decision to barter for different kinds of foodstuff or other items needed for the family. They also gave food assistance to the more needy members of their clan. Women's responsibility for food production and its importance in sustenance of the family, therefore, gave them a good position not only within the family but also in the community as a whole.

Despite the distinction in the tasks assigned to men and women, and the scholars' apparent disagreement on the values attached to them, Mullings (1976) argues that the equal access to the means and benefits of production had created a rather equitable division of labor. According to her, what further enhanced this egalitarian state of sexual division of labor were the supporting mechanisms for women's work woven into the traditional family and community way of life. Mullings suggests that the system of kinship and extended family tends

to vest the responsibility for the immediate nuclear family not only with the man and wife, but with the extended family and ultimately with the clan as a whole. She concludes that in such a system, the responsibility for individuals lies with the whole clan and women do not have to be solely dependent on men (whether father or husband) and therefore are more independent.

2.5 What Has Development Done for Women?

With the arrival of the Europeans in Africa, many changes occurred in the religious, political, attitudinal, as well as the socio-economic life of many African communities. The impacts of these changes, however, were not limited to the colonial era but have been carried over to the present time.

Mullings (1976) observes that in the hunting and gathering and village communities, relationship between the sexes were equal but asymmetrical, i.e., men and women had equal access to resources (equal) but were not assigned the same tasks (asymmetrical). While acknowledging the asymmetry in tasks assigned to men and women, Blumberg (1981) states that in such societies, people were more egalitarian since sharing was the key to their survival. She argues that in these classless societies, both sexes share the control over resources and the relative position of men and women is, on average, "just short of full equality" (Blumberg, 1981, p. 79).

However, "with the advent of private property and the emergence of classes--which had been taking place in some parts of Africa before the arrival of the Europeans, but were accelerated by colonial domination--relations between the sexes became more asymmetrical and unequal" (Mullings, 1976, p. 263). Women's loss of access to resources, and control over the output of their work, which was hastened by colonialism, is seen by many scholars as the major change occurring in the economic life of the rural African women (see for example Boserup, 1970; Mullings, 1976; UNECA, 1974b; Staudt, 1979).

The values imported by the Europeans into the African cultures they came into contact with (Reynolds, 1975; Jacobs, 1984) seem to have had important implications not only for the attitude towards women's work and its value, but also for the social and economic opportunities of the women. While women in many African communities participated effectively in the economic life of their societies, the Europeans' concept of women and their work was formed by a "Victorian" style womanhood (van Allen, 1976). This meant that in their view woman's place was at home and therefore her work was limited to household and "domestic" activities which were considered without any economic value. This concept completely overlooked the large overlap between the domestic and economic activities of the African women and considered them economically unviable (Ritchie, 1977). The erosion of the traditional overlap between the public and domestic spheres of women's work was, further, aggravated by the redefinition of the labor

(by the new economic system) to include only work in exchange for cash remuneration (Sudarkasa, 1981). So, high values were attached to wage labor and women's subsistence activities were further devaluated (Steady, 1981).

During the pre-colonial period, women's access to land--either in the form of ownership or right of use--had guaranteed the possibility of subsistence food production. Soon after the arrival of the Europeans, large portions of land were taken away from the Africans in many countries such as in Zambia, Swaziland, Kenya, and Zimbabwe, to name only a few (see for example, Mutemba, 1982; Jacobs, 1984). Land was fragmented and many women lost their easy access to it or had to travel long distances to reach their own parcel. Furthermore, when private land ownership was introduced, it was assumed that men were the main cultivators; the titles went to them and women were left out. With the privatization of land and communal sources of water, pasture, fuel and food, women had to work harder and longer hours to make up for the loss of these convenient resources (Beneria, 1981).

Two of the most important aspects of the economic changes during the colonial time were the introduction of wage labor and export oriented cash cropping. Men were enticed and at times forced to work on plantations and in mines, or to accept other forms of wage employment (Boserup, 1980). The need for cash, created for the most part through the imposition of tax in many African communities,

together with the attraction of new work experiences brought about the migration of many adults, especially men, in search of wage employment. In time, certain areas with little potential for cash cropping (either because of the unsuitability of land or lack of appropriate infrastructure) turned into labor reserves for the foreign owned mines and plantations.

These enterprises generally demanded male labor and offered fewer employment opportunities to women except as seasonal farm laborers or other low paid temporary jobs. The educational and job opportunities available through the colonial administration for clerical positions were also offered only to men. Subsistence farming, primarily in the hands of women was neglected by the colonialists whereas cash cropping, which was taken up by men (Reynolds, 1975; Feldman, 1984; Pala, 1974a; Crehan, 1984), became the focus of attention for agricultural research and innovation. Education in general, and agricultural and technical education in particular became the prerogative of men who, in turn, found more access to job opportunities in the market economy. During the colonial time, women were formed into sources of cheap, reserve labor force for the service of colonialism in countries such as South Africa, Kenya, Algeria, and Zimbabwe (Pala, 1976b).

The introduction of the plough in many societies has been seen as a major turning point in the sexual division of labor on the farm. Blumberg sees this transition as a direct result of the trend in

agrarian (plough-based) societies toward "...increasing surplus accumulation, stratification, political centralization, warfare and fertility" (Blumberg, 1981, p. 80). With the concentration of the new technology in the hands of men, women lost most of their input in the decision-making concerning agriculture. They, moreover, were required to have higher labor input on the farm due to the increase in area under cultivation made possible by new technology.

Beneria (1981) observes that while in some pre-colonial African societies, having a large number of wives would raise the status of men and their say in the decision-making process in the community, with the privatization of land, women became a source of land and wealth accumulation. She argues that with the prevalence of trading and private ownership of land, "...class differentiation began to intensify, women came to have less and less control over the product of their labor, and additional wives became, in fact, simply additional field workers who facilitated the accumulation of use-rights to more land" (Beneria, 1981, p. 286).

Privatization of land and commercialization of agriculture also affected the nutritional level of women and their families. Large parcels of land were bought by the national or international investors who picked the most fertile land for cash cropping. As a result, land, in general, and good quality land, in particular, became more scarce for subsistence food production. Women's increased workload on men's commercial farms in many instances required a modification of the family's nutritional pattern. In Ghana, for example, women had to

shift from yam, a nutritious but labor intensive food crop, to cassava which needs less labor but is also less nutritious (cited by Beneria, 1981).

Examining the impacts of economic development on African women, one observes negative effects in various aspects of women's lives. Women, as part of the active labor force, have lost their primary position as producers of subsistence food and have become "unpaid family workers," taking a secondary position to men in agriculture. In wage employment, they are usually given low skilled, low authority and low paid jobs with limited access to gainful employment. Women's access to land, water, pasture, food and fuel has diminished and has adversely affected not only their economic independence, but the nutritional level of the family. Moreover, women's involvement in wage employment, either out of choice or out of economic necessity has resulted not only in an increase in an already heavy workload, but in the exploitation of their labor by the export-oriented industries. The increased expectation of women's economic contribution has, however, not been accompanied by their equal access to resources and benefits of production. In addition, few support services such as day care centers have been available to assist women in carrying out the two jobs they have to perform inside and outside the household.

2.6 Women and Development--An Historical Perspective

During the past two decades women have been the focus of attention of numerous national and international development agencies

and policy makers. Despite this attention, however, there is ample evidence that women's living and working conditions have declined. In order to understand why women have been negatively affected by development strategies, it would first be necessary to view the situation of women and the history of "women and development" in an historical and universal content.

During the United Nations First Development Decade (1960-1970), GNP per capita (Gross National Product, i.e., the total economic growth in terms of services and goods produced by a nation, divided by its population) was taken as the measure for development. The countries were classified into the two categories of "developed" (or industrialized), and "less developed" (or developing). Primarily based on the level of their GNP. According to the United Nations General Assembly, the goal of development was, "...to accelerate progress towards self-sustaining growth of the economy of the individual nations and their social advancement so as to obtain in each underdeveloped country a substantial increase in the rate of growth, with each country setting its own target, taking as the objective a minimum rate of aggregate national income of five percent at the end of the decade..." (FAO, 1980, p. 6).

According to Anand (1983), while the world's gross international product increased by one trillion in this period, a minority of industrialized nations had appropriated about 80 percent of it. Adoption of heavy industries became the popular approach which

required the financial aid of the more industrialized and prosperous countries to the developing nations. It was during this period that bilateral and multilateral aid institutions such as United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and World Bank came to being. Although increased food production had been emphasized during this decade, the produced food could not meet the needs of the world's rapidly growing population.

The persistence of the development strategies to define development in terms of economic gains alone, had proved ineffective in reaching the grassroot level. The "trickle down" theory which assumed that the benefits of development realized by a minority would also affect the poorer strata of the society, failed to do so. The First Development Decade, therefore, ended with the awareness of the need for a different model which evaluated development with regards to its relation to, and its effect on those in the "margins," i.e., those that had limited contribution, or access to the benefits of productivity (Henriot, 1977).

During the United Nations Second Development Plan (1970-1980), the need for paying more close attention to the social effects of development became apparent. The emphasis of development shifted from economic gains to social goals, people, and their needs. To meet these goals, ILO introduced the Basic Human Needs Approach (BHNA) at the World Employment Conference in 1976. BHNA emphasized the adoption

of strategies to satisfy the minimum requirements of the families in terms of food, shelter, clothing, and community services such as safe water, sanitation, health and educational facilities. The Second Development Plan supported the idea of the redistribution of the "benefits" of development (such as national income) among the various strata of the society and advocated the raising of the standards of living of those in the "margins."

In 1974, the World Food Conference had urged the increase in food production through mechanization of agriculture. The adopted strategies, however, were not successful since in the process of modernization of agriculture, the "inputs" usually exceeded "outputs" (Karl, 1983b). This meant that the poor farmers could not afford the new technology, and the gap between the poor and rich farmers widened. In 1979, the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) encouraged the governments to adopt strategies to ensure the access of the farmers to land, rural services and agricultural inputs.

During the First and Second Development Decades, planners had treated the development problem as an issue interal to each nation and had failed to view it in the context of the international economic order, its dynamics and power relations. While the Second Plan had called for the redistribution of development benefits within each country, the extreme inequity between the "industrialized" and "less developed" countries still persisted. The LDC's, viewed the Basic Needs Approach as an attempt by the development agencies to ignore the

more fundamental and structural issues and demanded a more equitable position in the international development. In 1974, the U.N. passed the New International Economic Order (NIEO). It demands the following:

- an increased share of world industrial and agricultural production for developing countries;
- regulations and agreements on raw material and commodity prices;
- cooperation among developing countries to include greater flow of technical, trade and communications among themselves, balancing off dependency on the present north-south flow;
- fairer trade regulations;
- reform of the International Monetary System;
- development assistance, including finance and transfer of technology from developed to developing countries;
- regulation of multinational corporations; and,
- third world control of its own natural resources (Karl, 1983b, p. 64).

NIEO requires such essential transformations in the economic and power structure of the international economic order that so far, it has achieved little progress.

Up till then, development planners had assumed that the benefits of development not only would "trickle down" from the richer to the poorer strata of the society, but "trickle over" from the men, who had been the focus of most development efforts, to women and other members of the family. In reality, however, it was not so. Women found out that they had not been given a voice in the decision-making process and a fair share of the opportunities provided by development. While developing countries, in general, and their women in particular were struggling with the position of "second class" and "dependent" which the development strategies had assigned to them, women's movements and

a group of social scientists in more developed countries, set out to examine the sources of discrimination against women. Ester Boserup's book: Women's Role in Economic Development (1970) was one of the earlier documents recording women's high degree of involvement in the economic life of their societies and discussing the impacts of development projects on them. Furthermore, Boserup pointed out how women's contribution to the productivity of their communities had been overlooked in national and international statistics and had not been used in planning of the development projects.

The "invisibility" of women, however, was not confined to the "receiving" end of development effort. Few women were delegated to international conferences, and those who were, had to witness the insensitivity of the male conference members to women's issues. "The idea for International Women's Year was born out of this mounting frustration on the part of women of the international community so much of whose knowledge and wisdom was not being listened to" (Boulding, 1980, p. 27). The UN sees the International Women's Year (IWY) a result of its own efforts. Maguire, however, contests that "contrary to official UN claim, the impetus for IWY originated not from the male-dominated UN leadership but from pressure from mainly women development professionals, researchers, activists and feminists" (Maguire, 1984, p. 10).

With the declaration of the First International Women's Year and the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City, attention

was focused on women and their role in development. The World Plan of Action was drawn up to be implemented during the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-85). The Plan addressed not only the uneven pattern of development at the international level, but recognized women as the group which faced the severest social and economic problems. It called for a reassessment of the roles assigned to men and women in the family and society and emphasized the necessity of change in the traditional tasks assigned to both sexes. The plan suggested that in order to achieve the equality between men and women, they should both be provided with equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities. It proposed the provision of educational and training programs and creation of employment opportunities for women as the main keys to women's economic independence (UN, 1976).

At the international level, the UN performed its role by helping to establish: (1) a Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women with a limited budget for setting up and supporting women's projects; (2) an International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, again with modest funding; (3) an international convention on the women's status and rights in various aspects of life, and outlawing the discrimination against women; and (4) women's projects addressing the specific needs of women in developing countries, as part of the programs carried out by various UN agencies (Boulding, 1980).

At the national level, various mechanisms were also set up to meet the goals of the Decade for Women. These mechanisms have been a combination of government and nongovernment organizations. Usually, among these are: a full fledged ministry or several units within the government sector, advisory commissions, women's units within the national party,[18] and nongovernmental organizations such as self help groups and religious organizations (Ooko-Ombaka, 1980; Muchena, 1983). The national institutions directly or indirectly involved with the State, mostly deal with the propaganda, planning and decision making about women's affairs. Mobilization of women at the grass root level, initiating and monitoring projects and the formation of women's groups are, on the other hand, usually the responsibility of nongovernment institutions (Ooko-Ombaka, 1980).

The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women held in 1980 was given the task of reviewing the achievements of the first half of the Decade. The report showed that while women's equal rights with men had increased as a result of various legislations, the creation of employment opportunities for women had resulted in a greater degree of their exploitations, and that sexist attitudes were the source of discrimination against women (Karl, 1983).

The goal of development agencies in "integrating" women into development had met obstacles. Maquire (1984, p.13) summarizes these obstacles as viewed by the development agencies to be the following:

- traditions, attitudes and prejudices against women's participation;
- legal barriers;
- limited access to and use of formal education, resulting in high female illiteracy;
- limited access to labor force and preparatory vocational, technical or agricultural training due to illiteracy;
- time-consuming nature of women's "chores";
- lack of access to land, credit, modern agricultural equipment, techniques and extension services;
- health burden of frequent pregnancies and malnourishment;
- undermining of women's traditional position as economically contributing partners;
- inadequate research and information on women which limited ability of development planners to create projects relevant to women.

2.7 What Went Wrong with "Integrating" Women into Development?

The development agencies approach to the issues of women and development, was reflective of a series of male-biased and "western" oriented assumptions. To begin with, it had been assumed that modernization, i.e., injection of aid and technology by the more developed countries into the developing nations was beneficial to all. The benefits of this modernization realized by a minority was supposed to positively affect and enhance the life of the poorer people too. The experience, however, proved otherwise. Women's lower economic gain was attributed to them being ignored by the development. What was overlooked here was that women had already been integrated into development and numerous studies and conventions bore witness to their contribution to economy. The emphasis, therefore, had to shift to increasing women's "productivity."

This new shift was, in itself, an indication of the way in which women's roles in developing countries was perceived by the western male planners. The existing information and data on the role of women in development grossly underestimated women's contribution and their productivity. The current definitions used for "active" labor force are based on the economic realities of the industrialized nations and do not apply to the developing countries. Moreover, this definition is diverse and its categories vary with time and content. Deere (1977) identifies three sources of error in estimating women's work:

1. errors in the categorization of occupation;
2. errors in the criteria employed to distinguish between economically active agricultural participants; and,
3. errors due to the measurement of self-perceptions rather than actual participation based on the labor time dedicated to the activity (Deere, 1977, p. 7 as cited by Blumberg, 1981).

Blumberg (1981) observes that official definitions of economic activities are primarily biased towards the monetized sector and for this reason tend to underrepresent women's role in trading and domestic subsistence work. Men are generally considered to be the agricultural producers and women's contributions are not only undervalued in the area of production, but grossly ignored in storing, transportation, and marketing of the agricultural goods. Blumberg views the lack of accurate and uniform definitions as a major source of statistical bias against women's work. She particularly emphasizes the existence of this bias in the category of "unpaid family workers," a great part of which consists of women.

The lack of recognition of the true degree of women's productive work by development planners, therefore, prompted a series of women's projects and women's components added to larger projects. The plan was to increase the "productivity" of the women through literacy and other educational and vocational programs as well as the provision of employment opportunities. Women's "inclusion" in a "productive" labor force made economic sense and was seen essential to the success of the international economic order.

The increase in the participation of women in economic activities has intensified women's workload since they have to carry out two jobs at the same time. As women are encouraged to enter the employment market, they find that they have to accept new responsibilities, and continue to fulfill their role in the domestic sphere alone. The inequity in the division of labor within the household is the major source of contention of the opponents of the current strategies for increasing women's "productivity." Maguire protests "Where are the 'men in development' programs? There are no promotions to simultaneously increase men's contribution to the private work of the household" (Maguire, 1984, p. 25).

The inequities in the division of labor based on sex is also a prominent feature of women's work in the public domain. Women, in general, are clustered more in the informal sector in petty trading, small-scale manufacturing and other low income areas. Even in wage employment women are seen in jobs with lower pays and less authority

which require less skills (see, for example, Elson & Pearson, 1981). As was shown in previous sections, a clear division of labor also exists in agriculture. Men have adopted cash cropping and have entered the monetized sector of the economy, while women have remained in subsistence food production.

The power relations between the sexes and the discrimination against women both within and outside the sphere of the household, while recognized at many forums, have not been taken into account by the development planners and agencies. Mackintosh asserts that "...the sexual division of labor in society...appears to express, embody and furthermore to perpetuate, female subordination" (Mackintosh, 1981, p. 2).

Many of the women's projects, aimed at the increased productivity of half of the potential labor force were, thus, based on the above-mentioned misgivings and oversights. The approaches to, and the means selected for implementing the new proposed strategies, however, vary greatly among the national and international aid organizations. While some have adopted a "project approach" as their solution to the problems of rural women,[19] others emphasize the necessity for more fundamental socioeconomic and political changes before the present situation of women in developing countries can be redressed.[20]

The "project approach" currently chosen by the majority of the national and international development organizations concerned with women's issues, has come under increasing criticism. It is argued

that while isolated women's projects, or "women's components" in development projects may meet the immediate needs of the women, their lack of effective linkage with the policies at the national level helps to perpetuate certain conceptual and organizational barriers, and therefore, hamper rather than facilitate the increase in women's contribution to development (Papanek, n.d.; Muchena, 1983).

Moreover, the orientation of many women's projects towards increasing the "welfare" rather than the "productivity" of their clients[21] indicates the fact that women's "domestic" roles are given priority over their productivity tasks. Even income-generating projects seem to build almost exclusively on "feminine" skills, and by doing so, tend to limit women's opportunities for increasing their productivity and access to more meaningful and permanent employment.

2.8 Income-Generating Projects: Choices and Implications

The loss of women's access to their traditional resources and the necessity for utilizing half of the potential labor force were the main factors prompting the creation of income-generating projects. These projects are, here, defined to encompass all skills training programs for self or wage employment. Since education and training had been identified by the development agencies as the major indicators determining the degree of women's involvement in development, skills training for income generation became the hub of

women's projects with the view to increase their economic productivity for ultimate economic growth.

Women, therefore, are given two choices: they can either produce at home and sell to enterprises, or engage in wage employment on plantations or in the factories. While women's involvement in income-generating projects in developing countries is primarily due to their economic needs, some population agencies seem to prefer wage employment because they see that as a means of controlling the population (Karl, 1983b). Ruth Dixon (1978) favors working outside the home since she believes that working at home tends to encourage women to have more children who could help them with the work or with household chores.

The use of population policies as a basis for creating employment opportunities for women has come under criticism by the feminists (see Karl, 1983b). However, work in a central working place has the advantage that it makes the quality control, provision of services and the regulation of working conditions, wages and benefits possible (Dixon, 1978).

Whether the work is done at home or in a central work place, income-generating projects have been primarily promoting small-scale activities with limited funding and even more limited horizon. They have little to do with the national strategies for development and gainful employment. Income-generating projects promote and perpetuate the notion of women's economic dependency on men since they are

designed such that they can provide women with an income to "supplement" the family's earnings rather than to provide it in whole. The assumption that men are the "bread winners" is further supported by the fact that the term "income-generating projects" are not used for men's skills training programs.

Women's employment opportunities are, therefore, quite limited. They have the option of becoming self-employed, i.e., to produce and sometimes sell on their own, or to become a wage laborer. The majority of the self-employed, however, are "own account" workers. This means that they primarily work at home and have limited working capital. Their activities are usually labor intensive, based on traditional skills and poor technology, poorly remunerated, dependent on family labor only, under-capitalized and individualized (Dixon, 1979). Few self-employed women own large businesses and are involved in large scale enterprises and international marketing.

Of all the "feminine" skills promoted by income-generating projects, handicrafts production is the one receiving most attention. The reason for the popularity of this line of production among planners and policy makers is that they are based on women's traditional skills, therefore requiring little funding and resources for promotion. Moreover, it does not require large working capital or sophisticated machinery. The market for handicrafts, whether inside or outside the country, is unreliable and varies with the change in the consumers' taste and the fashion of the time.

The majority of income-generating projects lack the resources and expertise to engage in international, or at times even national, marketing and promotion. Moreover, most "own account" workers are not familiar with the basic business skills and do not have access to cooperatives, credit or loan facilities. These women are therefore left to their own resources to find the necessary working capital, to purchase equipments for their work, and to promote their own products. In the absence of import substitution regulations, women have little chance of competing with the mass produced and often cheaper products of the large enterprises.

The nature of income-generating activities done at home, on the one hand gives women the flexibility of adjusting this work to their other responsibilities, and on the other, keeps them isolated and, therefore, vulnerable to economic exploitation. The middlemen, pay low prices for the women's products and sell them at high profits in the national and international market. The isolation of and lack of organization among the majority of "own account" workers leaves them helpless in ensuring them a higher margin of profit. Moreover, since these women are not officially "employed," they do not enjoy any employment or unemployment benefits and upon losing their market, are not considered "unemployed" (Karl, 1983b).

The second option provided by income-generating projects is wage employment. Ever since the 1960's when the increase in the Gross National Product became the yardstick for economic growth, many

developing countries have been competing to attract foreign investors. With the shift of the emphasis from production for internal consumption to export oriented goods and crops, multinational investments became a source of capital which would stimulate the economic growth of the developing countries. "A multinational or transnational is a business firm with activities in several countries" (Karl, 1983a, p. 25).

The majority of such businesses originate in industrialized countries where their profits are repatriated to. In order to attract these investments and create employment for their ranks of unemployed, the developing countries offer extensive incentives. Women, who have fewer opportunities for gainful employment and are less organized and less likely to unionize, form an ideal cheap labor force for such corporations. Caught between the national development strategies in need of foreign investments, and political, economic and social power exerted by these investors on the recipient countries, women end up with low skilled, low paying jobs with limited protection.

Women's increased participation in export oriented industries, whether domestic or multinational has therefore resulted in the exploitation of their labor to the benefit of the investors. "Paying low wages for long hours in unhealthy and hazardous working conditions these industries claim they are liberating women" (Anand, 1983, p. 7).

2.9 Summary and Conclusion

The current development strategies seem to be blind to the nature and extent of women's activities in rural Africa. Despite their multiple roles in "domestic" and economic spheres, women are encouraged to participate in various forms of income-generating activities. The design of these activities, however, shows the insensitivity of the planners to the obligations and needs of the rural African women. Little attention has been paid to the establishment of day care centers and social services to benefit women. Moreover, no attempt has been made to tackle the more fundamental issues of power structure within and outside the household. Women remain, on the one hand, the sole persons responsible for child rearing and "domestic" activities, and on the other, a reserve of cheap and easily exploitable labor force for the national and international economic power network.

The present structure of income-generating projects leaves and perpetuates a considerable gap in the access of men and women to resources and gainful employment opportunities, as well as control over the process and the benefits of work. Immediate efforts will be necessary to improve the rural women's situation through the provision of services such as day care centers, loan and credit facilities, marketing outlets, appropriate technology, and better health and educational facilities. These efforts, however, will not succeed in sustaining any change unless accompanied by careful, deliberate, and

long-term strategies uprooting and discarding the more fundamental sources of discrimination against women in the household as well as in the national and international economic order.

Notes to Chapter II

[1]"Development" is, here, taken to mean (1) a general improvement in the standard of living, together with (2) decreasing inequalities in income distribution, and (3) the capacity to maintain an ongoing improvement process over time (Kocher, 1973).

[2]For other sources concerning the role of East African women in agriculture see for example, UNECA, 1972; Hay, 1976; Meek, 1931; Pala, 1974b, 1976 and 1978a.

[3]For further references on specific countries in Southern Africa see for example, Jacobs, 1984; Kuper, 1947; de Vletter, 1983; Pala, 1974a; Muntemba, 1982, Selolwane, 1981; Isaacman and Stephen, 1980; Brain, 1976.

[4]For other sources on Western Africa see for example, Germaine; 1964; Caughman, 1977; Sudarkasa, 1981; van Allen, 1976; Brooks, 1976; Lewis, 1976.

[5]For an opposing view see for example, Presvelou, 1980.

[6]For a discussion on the situation of the families of labor migrants in Lesotho, see for example, Gordon, 1982.

[7]It is estimated that between 25 and 33 percent of all households in the world are headed by women (see Tinker, 1976; Germaine, 1976-77; Buvinic, 1978). There exists a great variety in the number of women headed households (de facto and de jure) in different countriers. In Mali, 16 percent of the households are solely dependent on women, and among the Yoruba in Nigeria, about 20 percent of the women do not receive any support from their husbands (ATRCW/UNECA, 1975a). In Kenya, 45 percent and in Malawi 35 percent of the households are headed by women (UNECA, 1975a). In Morocco, the number of households headed by women increased by 33 percent between 1960 and 1971 (USAID, n.d.). Up to 50 percent of the rural households and 40 percent of those in the urban areas in Botswana are headed by women (Selolwane, 1981).

[8]For sources on various types of employment for women, and their constraints see for example, Gutto, 1976; Pala, 1974a; UN, 1975; Reynolds, 1975; Sudarkasa, 1981; UNECA, 1975 and 1975a; UNDP, 1980; Akerele, 1979; Papanek, 1977; ICRW, 1980b; Ahooja-Patel, 1982.

[9]For discussions on the state of education during the colonial period, see for example, Gutto, 1976 and Derryck, 1978.

[10]"Formal education" is here taken as "the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured "education system" spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university" (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p. 8).

[11]For a discussion of women's opportunities in formal education in the socialist countriers, see for exmaple, Chale, 1975 and Isaacman and Stephen, 1980.

[12]"Nonformal education" here, is defined as "any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. Thus defined, nonformal education includes, for example, agricultural extension and farmer training programs, adult literacy programs, occupational skills training given outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational purposes, and various community programs of instruction in health, nutrition, family planning, cooperatives, and the like" (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p. 8). See Clark (1979) for a discussion on women and education for development, also Ahmed and Coombs (1975) for examples of nonformal education programs in various parts of the world.

[13]This study, which had a sample composed of 212 small farm households, showed the following discrepancies in the delivery of agricultural services:

Visits by Extension Workers	Type of Farm Enterprise	
	Female managed	Jointly managed
Farm never visited	49%	28%
Farm visited at least once	51%	72%

[14]Other factors contributing to the productivity gap between men and women are: (a) men's almost exclusive access to new technology; (b) focus of government's research and policy on cash crops rather than food production; (c) men's access to cash necessary for improving cultivation methods; (d) men's access to land in general, and option of purchase of good quality agricultural land in particular (Boserup, 1970; Presvelou, 1980).

[15]For a more thorough discussion of the pros and cons of nonformal educaiton, see for example, Bock and Papagiannis, 1976; USAID, n.d.; NFE Information Center, 1982. See also Evans, 1979 and ATRCW/UNECA, 1978 for planning of nonformal education.

[16]For examples of various credit programs, see Meyer, 1978; IWTC, 1981.

[17]"Domestic as used here, refers to those minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organized immediately around one or more mothers and their children; 'public' refers to activities, institutions, and forms of associations that link, rank, organize, or subsume particular mother-child groups" (Rosaldo, 1974, p. 23).

[18]In Mozambique, for example, the Organization of Mozambique Women (OMM) is a wing of the national party (FRELIMO), see Isaacman and Stephen, 1980.

[19]For example, the U.S. Percy Amendment advocates the transformation of the situation of rural women through setting up projects. For details, see Papanek (n.d.).

[20]The Governments of Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are some examples of this approach.

[21]"'Welfare'...refers to the fulfillment of basic human needs. The distinction between 'productivity' and 'welfare' is somewhat artificial, since material prosperity (deriving from productivity) is a basic element of human welfare, while health, education, and organizational capacity can all increase productivity" (Dixon, 1980, p. 6).

CHAPTER III

WOMEN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN SWAZILAND

3.1 Introduction

As we saw in the previous chapter, women's economic status is determined by the interplay of national and international economic orders, as well as power structure within the household and in the society. The main objective of this chapter is to shed light on the economic position of the rural women in Swaziland. It is argued that while women do the bulk of the work in the rural areas in Swaziland, their opportunities for "gainful" employment and their access to resources and services necessary for the improvement of their work and raising the standard of their living remains limited.

In order to demonstrate these points, it was found necessary to discuss the rural women's multiple roles against a general background of the socio-economic and political situation in Swaziland and how these factors affect women's roles and opportunities. The chapter, therefore, begins with an overview of the population and social development as well as the political and social structure of the country as a whole. In the section following immediately, the socio-political structure of the Swazi society will be discussed. The section on the economy highlights the main features of the overall economic development and provides a framework within which the

implications of labor migration for women and their economic contributions to the rural life are viewed.

3.2 Population and Social Development

A. Population composition and growth

The population of Swaziland consists of a homogeneous group of people of whom only 2.4 percent are of non-Swazi origin. Swaziland has a low degree of urbanization, i.e., only about 15 percent of the total population can be classified as urban. Except for a few towns, larger villages and company towns, the population is scattered across the country, living in homesteads sometimes a few kilometers away from each other.

A comparison of the last two censuses in 1966 and 1976 indicates a population growth rate of 32 percent during this period.

Table 3.2.1

Population Growth and Composition

	1966	1976	Percent increase
Male	172,291	225,575	30.9
Female	190,076	257,173	35.3
African population	362,367	482,749	33.2
Total Population	374,571	494,537	32.0

Source: Population Census Reports, 1966 and 1976.

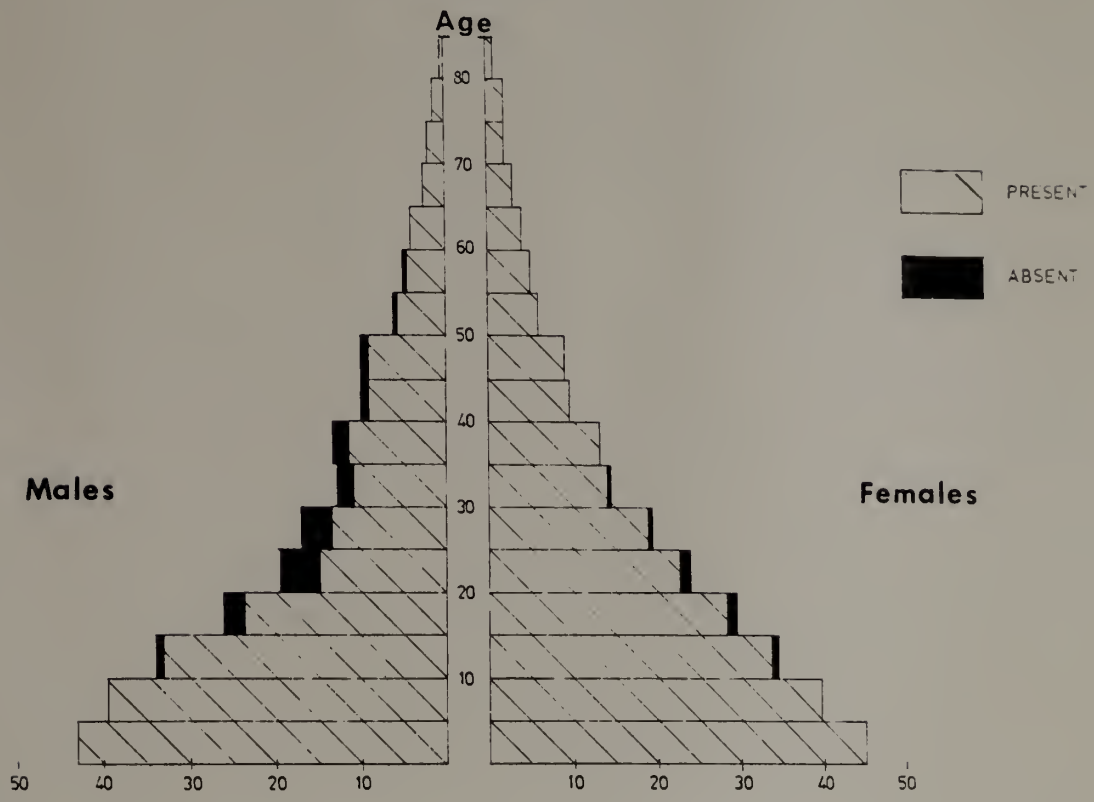
In the 1976 census, the fertility rate (i.e., the average number of children born to a woman who lives up to the age of 50) for Swazi women was estimated to be 6.87 births per woman. Present statistics show a population growth rate of 3.4 percent[1] and on the increase. This rapid growth means that the population can double itself every 25 years.

Two of the major characteristics of the Swazi population are the high proportion of the children, and the excess number of females over males. In 1976, it was estimated that 47.7 percent of the population was 14 years old or younger. The imbalance in the male/female ratio can be observed in the male/female birth and survival ratios. The proportion of women is particularly higher among the resident rural population who form about 85 percent of the total population. This is primarily the result of migration of working age men to the Republic of South Africa, and the industrial and urban areas within Swaziland.[2]

The migration issue is, however, not limited to men, although the number of women migrants is considerably less. The following table shows the number of African absentees during various census years.

FIGURE 3.2.1

AGE–SEX PYRAMID OF THE POPULATION 1976
(Thousands)



SOURCE: POPULATION CENSUS 1976

Tale 3.2.2

African Absentees

Census Year	Males	Females	Total	Percent of total population including absentees
1921	5,839	151	5,990	5.4
1936	9,451	110	9,561	6.2
1946	8,254	423	8,677	4.8
1956	10,569	1,159	11,728	5.1
1966	12,817	6,402	19,219	5.0
1976	18,903	6,747	25,650	4.9

Source: Census data.

B. Education

Education in Swaziland is modeled after the British system and consists of seven years of primary school (Grade 1 to 7), three years of Junior High School and two years of Secondary School. Presently, only two high schools in the country offer a third year beyond Secondary School, in preparation for college. The general school age in Swaziland is between six and nineteen, however, due to acceptance of children below six years of age, and the high prevalence of repeaters and restarters, approximately 20 percent of the girls and 25 percent of the boys enrolled at the primary schools are outside the six to twelve year age bracket.

The number of children who attended schools were considerably lower up until the Independence period. Table 3.2.3 shows the participation rates in the educational system for boys and girls according to the 1966 census.

Table 3.2.3

Percentage of School Age Children Enrolled in 1966

Age Group	Boys	Girls
5-9	27.8	31.7
10-14	55.7	60.1
15-19	42.7	27.9

Source: Census data, 1966.

Since independence, enormous efforts have been made to increase the educational opportunities for the Swazi children. Between 1965 and 1975, enrollments at primary school increased by 80 percent and at the high school level by 450 percent (International Labor Organization, 1977). In 1976, the Government set the goal of universal primary education to be achieved by 1985. This is defined as the provision of educational opportunities for all the children at the primary school age. Future plans include making a 10-year basic educational program available to all children. Today, 468 primary and 89 secondary schools cater for over 157,000 students (Government of Swaziland, 1983).

The educational statistics show that between 1969 and 1983, the number of primary and high schools (junior and secondary) rose by 27.8 and 111.9 percent respectively (Government of Swaziland, Educational Statistics, 1979-1983). These statistics, further register the increase in the number of primary and high school students during the same period at 101.5 and 310.2 percent, respectively. One of the

problems in the educational system in Swaziland is the inadequate number of qualified teachers. In 1976, one-third of the primary school teachers and one-fourth of the high school teachers were not qualified. The training and upgrading programs to improve the qualification level of the teachers have proved useful and as a result in 1983, only 10.6 percent of the primary school teachers and 15.6 percent of the high school teachers were unqualified.

3.2.4

Increase in Primary School Enrollments Between 1979 and 1983

	1979		1983		% Increase	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
No. of children between 6 and 12 years old	54,531	53,610	61,197	60,189	12.2	12.3
No. enrolled between 6 and 12 years old	41,932	39,933	50,784	48,507	21.1	21.5
Enrollees as percent of age group	(77.0)	(74.5)	(83.0)	(80.6)	(6.9)	(6.1)
Total enrollment in primary schools	52,673	52,934	64,275	65,492	22.0	23.7

Source: Government of Swaziland, Education Statistics, 1979-1983.

According to Allen (1974), many parents, especially mothers, have high aspirations for their children. They see "education" as the gateway to jobs and wealth and wish their children to become educated, find jobs, and move to the urban areas. Many women work hard to earn enough to send their children to school. There seems to be as much encouragement for girls to start school as for boys.

As the above table presents, the enrollment figures for girls in the primary school are even higher than those of boys. Young boys in Swaziland are responsible for grazing the cattle. Although more research is necessary, it is generally believed that this responsibility of the young boys is the cause of their lower primary school enrollments.

Even at high school level, the number of girls, though slightly lower, competes well with the number of boys enrolled. It is also encouraging to see that the rate of increase in girls' enrollment is almost twice that of the boys.

Although the enrollment figures are impressive, the high rates of repeaters and dropouts are alarming. This is particularly true for girls at the high school level. The highest dropout rates occur at form three, when after taking their junior certificate examination, many boys and girls drop out of school to search for jobs or to start technical and professional training. Dropout rates are also high at the end of primary school.

3.2.5

Increase in High School Enrollments Between 1979 and 1983

	1979		1983		% Increase	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
No. of children between 6 and 12 years old	42,953	39,440	48,266	44,324	12.4	12.4
No. enrolled between 6 and 12 years old	10,117	10,378	13,410	12,638	32.5	21.8
Enrollees as percent of age group	(23.5)	(26.3)	(27.8)	(28.5)	(4.3)	(2.2)
Total enrollment in high schools	10,823	11,268	13,787	14,014	27.4	24.4

Source: Government of Swaziland, Education Statistics, 1979-1983.

Table 3.2.6

Percent of Repeaters (1983) and Dropouts (1982/83)

Level	Girls		Boys	
	Percent Repeaters	Percent Dropouts	Percent Repeaters	Percent Dropouts
Grade I	12.7	8.9	16.0	8.0
Grade II	9.4	3.6	14.2	5.4
Grade III	10.5	6.1	15.9	8.0
Grade IV	9.4	7.4	12.4	7.0
Grade V	11.3	7.6	14.1	7.8
Grade VI	11.0	7.6	12.6	6.3
Grade VII	15.4	16.2	15.7	15.2
Form I	4.8	9.5	5.2	8.3
Form II	9.7	15.8	7.7	10.3
Form III	5.9	41.9	5.6	38.7
Form IV	6.0	19.7	6.7	12.7
Form V	0.4	96.7	0.9	94.7
Form VI	--	--	1.7	--

Source: Government of Swaziland, Education Statistics, 1982/83.

Recognizing the overly academic nature of the educational system in the country, and the need for a more practical training at the school level, the Government has sought to reform the curriculum. In 1973, a Primary Curriculum Development Project was started to reorient the existing primary school curriculum. A Secondary Curriculum Unit was set up in 1977 to carry out the same task with the secondary school curriculum.

There are a number of institutions which deal with technical and vocational training. The Swaziland College of Technology (SCOT) is responsible for training middle-level technicians, craftsmen and administrative personnel all of which are scarce and in great demand in the country.

The University of Swaziland with approximately 1,000 students is in charge of higher education. It has two campuses: one at Luyengo concentrating on agriculture and home economics, and the other at Kwaluseni with a variety of diploma and certificate courses.

Several institutions also offer adult and nonformal education. Sebenta National Institute is in charge of literacy courses and has about 700 courses per year. The Swaziland Sample Survey of 1960 showed that 71.38 percent of the male population and 73.30 percent of the female population over nine years of age were illiterate (Holleman, 1964). This survey showed that the percentage of illerate women was higher than that for men in older age groups. This suggests a possible trend towards a higher value put on women's education. According to the 1976 census, about 70 percent of the adult population (15 years and over) were illiterate. A youth program and a number of rural education centers are among the other facilities providing adult and nonformal education to a variety of people.

C. Health Care

The high population growth rate in Swaziland has caused an imbalance in the population composition in favor of the children. It is due to this fact and the high rate of child mortality (120 per 1,000 children), that the Government has proposed special attention to be paid to the health of the younger age groups. One of the main objectives of the health program as described in the Third National Development Plan (1978-1983), is to increase the proportion of

resources devoted to preventive services to allow special emphasis on the protection of certain vulnerable groups (mothers and children under five) and to reduce the incidence of water-borne diseases, especially bilharzia, and diseases of insanitation.

In 1977, some 17 hospitals with a total of 1,670 beds and 37 clinics were providing health care services in the urban and rural areas. There is a continuous effort to expand these services and have a wider coverage of the population, especially in the rural areas. Principle health problems have been tuberculosis, gastrointestinal diseases, bilharzia and malnutrition. Although no reliable data are available, it is estimated that about 70 percent of all school age children have bilharzia (World Bank, 1977). Realizing the graveness of the situation, the Government has increased health amenities both in terms of curative and preventive services.

One of the specific targets of the Third National Development Plan has been to increase the clinic coverage to the extent that by the end of 1983 at least 75 percent of the population would be living at the most 8 kilometers away from a clinic. Considering the scattered nature of the rural homesteads, this would be an important undertaking. The Plan, further, aims to provide immunization against childhood diseases to at least 75 percent of the children under the age of five.

Health care instructions are spread in the rural areas through various health education programs. Moreover, rural health centers and clinics provide family planning advice. Nutrition education is

increased through the rural health centers and the extension workers in the Home Economic Section of the Ministry of Agriculture. However, despite the efforts of the Government, private organizations and missions in providing health care facilities, their coverage is still modest. It has been estimated that half of the population relies on the traditional doctors and healers as well as on modern clinics.[3]

3.3 Political and Social Structure

Swaziland has a long tradition of being ruled by a monarch with absolute authority. The most striking feature of the political structure in present day Swaziland is the coexistence of a modern and a traditional government side by side each other. This dichotomy which, further brings about and partly explains the dualism in the economy[4], has its roots in the colonilera (1900-1968) when the traditional government system was interrupted by British rule.

The Swazi society is a predominantly traditional society whose members' actions are strongly dictated by traditional norms and a strong sense of duty regarding their preservation. "This social order derives from the sacredness of tradition whose validity is reinforced socially and psychologically by fears of the anger of the ancestral spirits which bring with it magical evils if tradition has been transgressed" (World Bank, 1977, Annex 3: 7).

The figure at the center of this tradition is the king who is the sole person having the authority to change traditional rules. The

king has been described as "the living symbol of all tradition and unity of the nation . . . draped in 'the mystical credentials of authority' which give unquestioned legitimacy to whatever he does or says" (Vilakazi, 1977, p. 153). During the pre-colonial time, besides his role as the divine and traditional authority, the king also had the power over legislation and jurisdiction. An undivided loyalty from all the subjects was, therefore owed to him.

During the colonial period, the king was reduced to a paramount chief and his power seriously curtailed. The introduction of modern law by the British took away the jurisdiction power from the king and invested it in a legal system to whom everyone - the commoners as well as the king himself - was unanswerable. The object of loyalty was now divided.

In 1968, Swaziland became independent and inherited the colonial legal system, King Subhuza II[5] reinstituted the monarchy, and a Westminister style consitution was drawn up. This political system with its parliament allowed the formation of certain opposition elements who were a challenge to the already divided power of the monarchy. This opposition which was legitimized by the legal system, was seen to be against all tradition. Consequently, in 1973, the king revoked the constitution, suspended the parliament and later banned all political parties.[6]

Today, the modern government is composed of a cabinet of ministers whose members are appointed by the king. This government rules the country in close cooperation with the traditional ruling

class consisting of the king, the queen mother, and the aristocracy. The role of queen mother who is supposed to rule the country jointly with the king is, however, more ceremonial. The traditional government rules through the Swazi Nation Council (SNC), its principal institution. It derives its main source of power out of the control over almost half of the land called Swazi Nation Land (SNL) which, as the name implies, belongs to the nation but is vested in the person of the king. The king who is the head of both governments, rules the land through the chiefs he appoints in various areas.

For administrative purposes, Swaziland is divided into four districts: Hhohho, Manzini, Shiselweni and Lubombo. Each district is governed by a commissioner and a senior district officer. Below the district level, the traditional government is in charge of the local administration. The SNC is charged with the responsibility of maintaining the traditional Swazi law and custom, to examine the congruency with the customary law of any issues and programs pertaining to SNL, and to advise the king in all these matters. Every adult male Swazi, at least in theory, can attend the discussion sessions of the SNC. The male-dominated and male-oriented nature of the Swazi society leaves little room for the involvement of women in politics. The SNC has a fantastic channel for contacting the rural people. The principal link between the Council and the people are "tinkundlas" or the meeting places in the rural areas all over the country. Every few chiefdoms together, have a common "tinkundla" whose meetings are attended by local adult males and their chief (World Bank, 1977).

MAP 3.3.1. ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

SOURCE: POPULATION CENSUS 1976

Examining the traditional Swazi society during pre-independence, Kuper (1963) observes that the Kinsmen form a tight social network that could be relied upon in time of crises. Today, however, with the higher rate of mobility of the population, these bonds may have weakened. Kuper, further, describes the structure of the family as the following:

> No equality is expected or desired between Swazi husband and wife. He is male, superior in strength and law, entitled to beat her and to take other women. She must defer to him with respect. But a Swazi woman is not an object and timid creature; she claims her rights as "a person" as well as "a wife" (Kuper, 1963, p. 26).

Marwick (1966) states that apart from the queen mother, Swazi women have no political roles. Women do not deal with the chiefs directly and have to discuss business with them through their fathers or husbands. Marwick's study which was done years before independence, also claims that women cannot own property.

3.4 Land Use and Distribution

During the last two decades of the 19th century, generous concessions were made by the Swazi king to European settlers, including rights to grazing land, mining and trading. In 1907, the British Colonial Government issued two-thirds of the land in Swaziland to the "settlers," leaving the Swazis with only one-third or their original area (Funnel, 1982). Many Swazis were driven away from where they lived and those wishing to stay on the settlers' land, had to negotiate their terms of stay with the new owners. (For a full

discussion of the land concessions in Swaziland, see Bonner, 1982.) The present land distribution still reflects, to a great extent, the colonial situation. The portion of land assigned to Swazis is called Swazi Nation Land (SNL) and the parts owned by individuals or private firms have been known as Freehold Title Land (FTL) or Individual Tenure Farms (ITF). Recently, parcels from the FTL have been bought by the government and added to the SNL. In 1973-74, land owned by individuals and companies (almost all non-Swazis) constituted 47.3 percent of the total area of the country, containing approximately 800 farms and estates of various sizes. More precisely, in 1974, almost one-fourth of the country was owned by 35 farmers and companies (as Individual Tenure Farms) while only 5.7 percent of this area was cultivated (International Labour Organization, 1977). Presently, ITFs are no longer owned only by non-Swazis since recently some Swazi individuals and companies have also purchased portions of the freehold land.

A. Individual Tenure Farms (ITFs)

At present, ITFs occupy roughly 40 percent of the total land area in the country. This consists of about 7 percent of cropland, 13 percent of commercial forests, and the rest is pasture land (World Bank, 1977). Commercial agriculture is the major feature of the ITFs which enjoy modern technology, good management and marketing outlets. ITFs are also characterized by underutilization of land and absentee

ownership. According to the Third National Development Plan, 60 percent of the country's total agricultural output are produced by ITFs, although only 70 percent of these farms are commercially exploited. The average holding is 800 hectares and land can be sold by the owner or used as security for loans. Table 3.4.1 compares the agricultural land use between ITFs and the SNL.

B. Swazi Nation Land (SNL)

Swazi Nation Land is communally owned by the Swazi Nation and held by the king in trust for the people. The land, whose official title is invested in the king, is allocated to the heads of household (as a rule a man) by chiefs in each area on a "right of use" basis. Upon pledging alligiance to the area chief, each applicant is assigned land for building a homestead and cultivation. The portions designated as pastures, are used communally by the people. While each user has the right to cultivate his land, he cannot sell it or use it as security for loans. The user's family, however, can inherit the rights of access to land from the household head.

The legal position of women in Swaziland puts them under a perpetual guardianship, either of the husband or father. As a rule, therefore, women get access to land through the male head of household. Every wife is to be assigned a plot for cultivating food. After the death of the male head of the household, it is the eldest son, and not the wife, who inherits the land. Under special

Table 3.4.1

Agricultural Land Use and Tenure, 1980

	Individual Tenure Farms	Swazi Nation Farms
Area (,000 ha)	695	143*
Percent of Total Agricultural Output	60	40
Production Growth Rate (%)	5	2.8
Resident Population (,000)	175	408
Average Holding Size (ha)	800	2.75
Ownership/Tenure (,000 ha):		
Swazis	261	143
Major companies	174	--
Non-Swazis	260	--

*Whereas virtually the total area of freehold land is included in the individual tenure farms, the Swazi Nation farms occupy a relatively small amount of Swazi Nation land. Most of the rest is taken up by communal grazing land.

Source: Barclay's Bank Economic Survey, 1981.

circumstances, especially among the female headed households, some women find access to land in their own right. In a survey a rural area in the Middle Veld in Swaziland, Allen (1974) found that 22.7 percent of those with right of usage of land, were women. Of these, about two-thirds were women-headed households and the rest included the wives of the households head.

Subsistence agriculture (i.e., production mainly for home consumption) is the characteristic of the SNL where about 42,000 farms each averaging 2.75 hectares exist. Of the total area of SNL, about 85 percent is devoted to pastures. This is particularly important since Swazis see the possession of cattle as a sound form of investment and as a symbol of wealth and status. This status,

however, is more a function of the quantity rather than the quality of the cattle. The existence of this wealth norm, along with the communal nature of grazing (which makes the access to the pastures practically limitless to everybody) have resulted in the highest concentration of cattle in proportion to land in Africa. This, in turn, has caused serious overgrazing and, in some instances, erosion in parts of the country.

Farming on SNL is presently not very commercialized. Only some five percent of the farming households deliberately grow crops for sale (cash crops). About 80 percent of the cultivated area is devoted to maize and the small scale SNL farm is characterized by traditional systems of cultivation, low use of inputs, low yields and lack of marketing and credit facilities.

3.5 Economy

A. General Overview

The economy of Swaziland has been strongly influenced by the fact that the country is surrounded from three sides by a highly developed country, i.e., the Republic of South Africa. The geographical location in Swaziland has, therefore, been an important factor in the country's economic dependence on the Republic. About 90 percent of the imports to Swaziland originate from, or pass through South Africa while 25 percent of its exports are absorbed by the Republic. As a signatory to the South African Customs Union Agreement and the Rand Monetary Agreement, the flow of currency and goods

between Swaziland and the Republic is virtually unrestricted. In 1978/79, the share of Swaziland from the Customs Union revenue amounted to over 60 percent of the country's recurrent revenue.

Agriculture, contributing to approximately 30 percent of the GDP, is the dominant factor in the economy, providing a source of employment and livelihood for the majority of Swaziland's population. Although the economy has enjoyed an impressive growth, primarily because of the rather impressive performance of the agricultural sector. The prosperity of the agricultural sector has mostly been limited to commercial agricultural enterprises, almost entirely owned by expatriates and foreign companies. It is therefore inevitable that great disparities should exist between the incomes of the SNL farmers and those in the commercial sector. Agricultural development efforts on Swazi Nation Land are modest and limited, for the most part, to those portions of the rural areas which have been selected under a Rural Development Areas Program (RDAP)[7]. Booth (1983) points to the government's underspending of agricultural funds by 48 percent during the Second Plan and the concentration of funds on irrigated farms, and concludes that the government's priority clearly lies with commercial agriculture. "It would appear, in short, that in spite of the various assertions of dualism and parallelism of a "modern" and a "traditional" sector, in fact there is in Swaziland a single agricultural economy, in which one sector, embracing most of the land

containing the bulk of the population, is helping to subsidize the other" (Booth, 1983, p. 92).

Sugar, forestry industry, mining, citrus and pineapples, tourism, cattle raising and manufacturing contribute to the economy. Despite of one of the healthiest trade balances in developing Africa, and the seemingly diversified economy, Swaziland's growing reliance on one product, i.e., sugar, has worried some economists. In 1980, for example, sugar alone accounted for 46.6 percent of the total export value (Table 3.5.1). The rapid rate of economic growth experienced by Swaziland during the 1970's has been dropping gradually. It is estimated that the annual growth rate has dropped from 7 percent in the 70's to a little over 3 percent during the recent years. The present rate compares unfavorably with the official population growth rate of 3.4 percent per year. The following sections provide a more detailed discussion of the various aspects of Swaziland's economy.

B. Pre-independence Economy

The colonial economy of Swaziland during the time the country was ruled as a British protectorate, is from many aspects similar to that of most formerly colonized developing countries. The Land Proclamation Act of 1907 smoothened the way for the settlers (primarily British) to set up large, profit making, estates in the country. The eviction of the Swazis from their land in 1917 and the reintroduction of a tax in the following year enforced the

transformation of many peasants to wage laborers. Another factor facilitating the formation of a class of laborers was the small size and at times the poor quality of the land assigned to Swazis. The small and usually unfertile plots of land would make it impossible to provide for the needs of the growing population. It followed, inevitably, that many Swazis took up employment at the plantations and large farms in Swaziland or in the mines in South Africa.

By the mid 30's, the self-sufficiency of the Swazi farmer had deteriorated rapidly and labor migration increased during the 40's and 50's. A 1966 colonial report cited by McFadden states that "During the 1930's labor was Swaziland's most valuable export, in 1938 deferred pay and remittances totalled some R 51,000 while cattle exports during the same year were valued at R 4,000 less" (McFadden, 1982, 144). During this period, the British and later South African settlers had set up large farms and ranches and were involved in cash crop farming and cattle ranching. Tin and gold mines were being primarily exploited by British capital. Multinational capital, however, did not enter Swaziland until after the second World War and was interested in mining as well as agriculture.

By 1960 when the negotiations for independence had started, the economy of Swaziland had come to rest on two important factors. Daniel (1982) describes these two factors as the following:

a. Private settlers (primarily British and South African) whose capital was invested in highly profitable ranches and estates; and

b. Foreign multinational organizations whose capital was concentrated on mining and plantation-type agriculture.

C. Post-independence Economy

The economy of Swaziland after the country gained independence is almost a continuation of the pre-independence time. One can still observe the degree to which foreign capital is in control of the economy. Sugar which alone accounts for little less than half of the export value is almost exclusively produced on non-Swazi plantations. Discussing the structure of foreign capital in Swaziland, Daniel (1982) points at the dominance of British capital in banking and agriculture. Parts of this capital, invested in a large forest in the north of the country, controls a major portion of the production of wood pulp and timber, the second valuable item on the list of items exported (Table 3.5.1). Asbestos mines in the northwest of Swaziland are exploited by British capital and manufacturing and commerce remain in the hands of South African investors.

The open economy of the country provides almost unlimited opportunities for foreign investment. Vilakazi (1977) argues that the investors are attracted to Swaziland for three reasons. First, the Swazi government offers very generous incentives in order to attract foreign investors. Second, although Swaziland has a small internal market, her access to the large South African market is considered another important factor[8]. The third reason, Vilakazi argues is that Swaziland seems to be an ideal place for the production of goods for

Table 3.5.1

Structure of the Export (in million Emalangeni*)

Commodity	1979	Percent of total value	1980	Percent of total value
Sugar	69,136	35.4	128,445	46.6
Woodpulp	28,156	14.4	37,273**	13.5
Asbestos	17,558	9.0	15,590	5.6
Iron Ore	5,265	2.7	3,691	1.3
Electronic Products	3,529	1.8	8,181	3.0
Meat & Meat Products	9,055	4.6	9,586**	3.5
Canned Fruits	9,184	4.7	9,365	3.4
Citrus Fruits	9,437	4.8	7,646	2.8
Sawn Timber	8,787	4.5	9,670**	3.5
Chemicals	9,976	5.1	23,670	8.6
Coal	2,918	1.5	2,944	1.0
Other Exports	22,273	11.5	19,805	7.2
Total	195,274	100.0	275,866	100.0

*1 Lilangeni (plural Emalangeni) = $0.8 (1983)
**Estimates

Source: Barclay's Economic Survey, 1981.

those African states which, opposing the South African apartheid policy, would not buy South African products.

The Customs Union Agreement plays an important role in the economy of Swaziland. Goods imported from outside the Customs Union Area destined to any of the signatory countries will be cleared at the port of entry in the Republic of South Africa. The duties collected in this manner are pooled together and later divided among the four countries on the basis of a pre-determined formula. The share of the Swaziland Government at times amounts to over half of its total revenues. Barclay's Economic Survey estimates that the customs receipts for the financial year 1980/81 were about E. 63.0 million or by far the largest contributor to the government revenue. The corresponding figure for 1979/80 amounted to 49.7 percent of the recurrent revenue (Barclay's Economic Survey, 1981).

The extent of the dependence of the economy on South Africa is further demonstrated by the fact that, as mentioned before, each year from 90 to 95 percent of the imports of Swaziland originate from or pass through the Republic[9]. This monopoly over the imports and exports in Swaziland could be broken if the presently underutilized railway to Maputo in Mozambique (originally built to serve the iron mines in Swaziland), would be used more fully.

Swaziland is also a member of the Rand Monetary Area. According to an agreement signed in 1974 by Swaziland, the Republic of South Africa and Lesotho, the flow of funds among the three countries is

free. The same year Swaziland issued its own currency called Lilangeni (plural: Emalangeni). The Lilangeni is tied to the South African Rand and fluctuates with it.

D. Performance during the Third Plan

According to the Third National Development Plan (1978/79-1982/83), the overall objectives of development are economic growth, self reliance, and social justice and stability. As the following table shows, the growth of the economy during the Third Plan period has been quite uneven.

Table 3.5.2

Annual Growth of GDP in Percent (1980 constant prices)

1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	Compound 1978-1981
-5.0	+5.5	+6.5	+2.2

Source: Central Statistical Office as cited in the Economic Review 1978-1981, Prime Minister's Office, 1982.

The above growth rates are sharply in contrast to the projected 7 percent growth of GDP per annum in the Plan. This projection seems to have been based on the 7 percent annual growth rate experienced by Swaziland between 1973 and 1977 (1977/78 constant prices).

The 1978-1981 economic review reports the per capita income for 1980 to be E. 641 (or $667). However, after adjustments for the inflation during the Plan period, this figure is decreased to $475 per capita (1978 prices), leaving Swaziland in the lower bracket of the developing countries with medium range income (Prime Minister's Office, 1982). This figure, however, is not very meaningful since considerable differences exist between the incomes of the urban and rural population groups as well as between Swazis and non-Swazis[10].

3.6. Labor Supply and Migration- Implications for Women

A. Source and Magnitude of Labor Migration

Up until mid 1890's Swaziland was capable of providing the food necessary for its inhabitants. The 1894 cattle disease devastated large parts of the cattle herds and negatively affected the "self reliance" exercised by the Swazis. Partly to compensate for these losses and partly to pay the heavy taxes imposed on them, many Swazis had to seek wage employment (see for example Matsebula, 1972).

The flow of British concessionaries into the country had already begun in the 1880's with the discovery of gold and tin in Swaziland. The Swazi king generously granted concessions not only to the miners, but also to the "Afrikaners" who were seeking right of use in the Swazi pastures near their farms in South Africa. After the

establishment of colonial rule in the early 19th century, a Concession Commission was set up by the British High Commissioner in 1904 to clear up the confusion arising from overlapping concessions. The outcome of the Commission's work was the granting of two-thirds of the land in Swaziland to the concessionaires and later, the dismissal of the Swazis from this land.

Booth (1982) presents an effective discussion of the objectives of, and the strategies used by the Commission in allocation of land. He observes that the Commission was careful to allocate enough grazing land for the use of the "Afrikaners." The main concern, however, was the provision of laborers for the plantations and especially, the mines. Booth reports that "labor was provided for by ensuring that the 'native areas' (assigned to Swazis, numbering 32 in all) would not support their human and cattle population for more than a few years at best, and not at all in a few areas" (Booth, 1982, p. 38).

It was, then, little surprise that by the 1930's the so-called "native areas" were overpopulated and overstocked. The combined effects of first, decimation of the cattle herds, and at a later stage overpopulation, overstocking, landlessness, poor yields and heavy taxes began a process which eventually pushed many Swazis into the labor market.

Before long, the settlers and concessionaires in Swaziland found themselves in competition for labor with the mine recruiters for South Africa. So organized and high were the recruitments for the Republic

that labor had to be imported from Mozambique especially for working on the plantations in Swaziland. Having various options, the Swazi worker could try out several jobs and pick the ones that suited his interests best. In order to rectify the situation, the local industry had to improve their offers by providing housing and higher wages. Even then it seems the Swazi laborers remained careful about the type of employment they chose.

Besides importing labor, the local industry and plantations also found it necessary to rely on the work of women and children. This need was particularly intensified when "employment opportunities grew at a continued rapid pace with the establishment of some of the largest man-made forests, saw mills and a pulp mill during the 1940's, sugar and citrus plantations in the 1950's and 1960's, and an iron mine in 1964" (De Vletter et al., 1981, p. 51). Booth (1982) reports that one timber industry at the time of planting and road construction had a labor force of which 60 percent were women and children.

The statistics available on the extent of external migration among Swazis are at times misleading and contradictory. The information provided by the South African censuses, for example, differ from the Swaziland census data. On the other hand, the statistics provided by the controls at the border posts may not reflect those who entered the Republic as "visitors" and then found jobs. Although the absolute number of external migrants has been fluctuating, the census data points show little relative variation.

Table 3.6.1

The Magnitude of External Migration from Swaziland

Census year	African population	Total no. absentees	Absentees as % of African Population	Absentees (%) Male	Female
1921	110,295	5,990	5.4	97.5	2.5
1936	153,270	9,561	6.2	98.8	1.2
1946	181,269	8,677	4.8	95.1	4.9
1956	229,744	11,728	5.1	90.1	9.9
1966	381,687	19,219	5.0	66.7	33.3
1976	520,184	25,650	4.9	73.7	26.3

Source: Census Data.

The relative stability of the extent of external migration seen as a percentage of the total population seems to disguise the effects of certain incidences or new regulations with respect to migration resulting in a sharp increase or decrease in the absolute number of migrants. One such occasion was the decision of the South African Government to control the influx of foreign laborers in 1963. As part of this new policy measure, women migrants were not to take up employment or accompany their husbands to the Republic. In spite of these regulations, the total number of Swazi laborers at the mines in South Africa rose (in absolute terms) by almost 28 percent between 1966 and 1974, and by 82 percent during the period 1974-1979 (Stahl, 1981; Matsebula, 1982a).

Comparing the external and internal employment in Swaziland, De Vletter observes that "as a proportion of domestic employment, absentees fell from more than 200 percent in the 1930's to 30 percent

in 1976, and probably 25 percent in 1980" (De Vletter, 1982, p. 132). This phenomenon was primarily due to the infusion of foreign capital into Swaziland during the 1960's and 1970's which resulted in more job opportunities closer at home than before.

A comparison of the census data on male and female absentees shows the figures to be lopsided heavily towards men. The reasons are manifold. First, the census data prior to 1966 did not include the "dependents" of the external laborers, therefore excluding those women who through accompanying their husband could find jobs in the Republic. The previously mentioned 1963 South African legal measures prohibiting women from taking up employment or accompanying their husband, was another factor in limiting the number of female absentees. Thirdly, although many families have, for a long time, been dependent on wage labor, this has not cut off their ties with the land. The continuous reliance on the land would necessitate the provision of enough labor on the farm. With their husbands absent, it would be the responsibility of the wives to continue working on the farm in cooperation with the other members of the family. Many external and internal migrant laborers, however, made sure to be home to carry out that portion of the farm work traditionally done by men. The 1976 census data, however, showed that about 38 percent of the male absentees were away for more than one year, thus increasing the responsibilities and work load of those left behind, especially those of the women.

A homestead survey in Swaziland in 1979 indicated that the male-female ratio among the absentees (including unemployed dependents) and the employed absentees were 1.44 to 1 and 2.6 to 1, respectively (De Vletter, 1979). The results of this survey, further, show that the proportion of absentees within Swaziland to be 4.5 times those in South Africa. Of the total number of absentees, however, only 62.8 percent were engaged in wage employment. Other studies indicate that among the de facto rural population, for those in the 20-34 age bracket, the female/male ratio was almost 2 to 1. For the rural working population as a whole (15-64 years), this ratio amounted to 1.6 to 1 (De Vletter et al., 1981).

The 1976 population census classifies about 85 percent of the de facto population as rural. As Table 3.6.2 shows, emigration from the rural areas differs in size for various districts.

Table 3.6.2

Population and Migration by District, 1976

District	De Jure Population	Absentees	Absentees as % of De Jure population
Hhohho	139,834	6,341	4.5
Manzini	145,048	5,510	3.8
Shiselweni	127,520	10,348	8.1
Lubombo	107,782	3,451	3.2

Source: Census Data, 1976.

B. Internal Employment

The comparison of internal employment data, at times, presents some problems due to the differences in terms and categories used by various sources. The 1966 census divided the labor force (those 15 years and over) into the three categories of employed, unemployed and subsistence[11]. The results showed that women formed 41 percent of the total work force; that is to say, 23.9 percent of the employed, 30.8 percent of the unemployed, and 59.2 percent of the subsistence categories.

According to the 1976 census, over 40 percent of the resident African population (those 15 years or older) were full-time, part-time or self employed. Among these, men outnumbered women by a ratio of two to one. The establishment of many new jobs in the 1960's and 1970's, resulted in much more employment opportunities for men than for women. While the unemployment rate for the male labor force rose only by 0.1 percent between 1966 and 1974, that for women increased by 2.0 percent during the same period (International Labour Organization, 1977). Moreover, women's job opportunities were further limited by the enforcement of the already mentioned South African regulations, restricting the access of Swazi women to the labor market in the Republic.

Today, Swaziland is considered to have the highest domestic rate of employment among the developing countries in Africa (World Bank, 1977; USAID, 1980). Wage employment is dominated by the predominantly foreign controlled agricultural and forestry sector, accounting for

almost 40 percent of the total employment. Table 3.6.3, shows the employment situation in 1977. The high percentage of women in the category "social services" is due to the dominance of female teachers[12] and nurses. Women also account for 26.3 percent of those in the private sector.

Despite the relatively high percentage of the population involved in wage labor, the government is getting alarmed by the growing unemployment problem. In a review of the economy covering the period 1978-1980, the Department of Economic Planning and Statistics (1981) reported that from 1975 to 1980, each year an average of 9,140 school leavers with at least Standard Five have entered the job market of whom 7,060 could be expected to have looked for employment in the formal sector. However, this sector has been able to produce only 2,200 jobs annually, leaving an average shortage of 4,860 jobs per year.

Each year, on average, about five percent of the population find jobs in the Republic of South Africa[13]. The fluctuations in the number of migrant laborers admitted to the Republic, inevitably, affects the unemployment rate in Swaziland. As Table 3.6.4 shows, the decrease in the number of out-migrants in 1980 resulted in a negative rate of increase in the total employment in the formal sector (i.e., employment in Swaziland and Swazis employed in the formal sector in South Africa).

Table 3.6.3

1977 Employment Statistics by Sector

Sector	Total number of employees	Government (%)	Private Sector (%)	Private Sector Male (%)	Private Sector Female (%)	Private Sector Swazi (%)	Private Sector Non-Swazi (%)
Agriculture and Forestry	26,377	5.7	94.3	70.8	29.2	97.4	2.3
Social Services	13,283	83.4	16.6	52.7	47.3	89.2	10.8
Manufacturing	8,411	--	100.0	77.9	22.1	94.7	5.3
Distribution	5,516	--	100.0	61.6	38.4	95.4	4.6
Construction	4,081	31.0	69.0	97.2	2.8	90.2	9.8
Mining and Quarrying	3,086	--	100.0	97.4	2.6	91.5	8.5
Transport & Storage	2,768	68.4	31.6	95.3	4.7	95.0	5.0
Finance	1,477	--	100.0	68.0	32.0	86.7	13.3
Electricity & Water	1,226	100.0	--	--	--	--	--
Total	66,225	25.6	74.4	73.7	26.3	95.2	4.8

Source: Central Statistical Office, Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1978, pages 65 and 66; as cited in Barclay's Economic Survey, 1981.

Table 3.6.4

Increase in Wage Employment in the Formal Sector

Year	Domestic employment	% Increase in domestic employment	Employment in South Africa	% Increase in formal sector employment*
1978	71,256	7.6	11,000	5.80
1979	73,767	3.5	10,000	1.80
1980	75,243	2.0	8,500	-0.03

*Including employment of Swazis in South Africa.

Source: Department of Economic Planning and Statistics, Economic Review 1978-1980, 1981.

Women have also been involved in wage labor as early as the 1920's. According to the Colonial Reports, the number of women in wage employment in Swaziland rose from 2.6 percent in 1921 to 14.9 percent of the female population in 1966 (Colonial Reports, 1921, 1966; as cited by McFadden, 1982). Most of these women were hired as seasonal laborers on large plantations or as domestic workers in the urban areas. Swazi women's job opportunities, like those of many other women in developing countries have been limited by social and cultural factors. Women laborers have, therefore, been viewed by many employers as a cheap and at times less "troublesome" work force; used as "a reserve army of labor, to be drawn into production when the need arises, and thrown out when the need no longer exists" (McFadden, 1982). Many of the rural women involved in wage employment have

seasonal jobs in the mostly foreign owned agribusinesses, working under unfavorable conditions, with low wages and little legal protection (see McFadden, 1982).

In many African countries, the informal sector[14] plays an important role in the creation of job opportunities. In Swaziland, however, this sector is surprisingly small[15]. The Third National Development Plan (1978/79 - 1982/83) estimates the number of people involved in trading to be 3,000 persons. While the average annual rate of growth in the formal sector was 3.5 percent between 1978 and 1981, that in the informal sector amounted to 0.2 percent in 1978, 1.8 in 1979 and 2.0 in 1980. This rate of growth, however, does not reflect a true picture of the informal sector in Swaziland since in does not account for many handicraft producers, hawkers and sellers who are mostly women and operate without a license.

The government has acknowledged the potential of the informal sector as one of the sources of labor absorption. In discussing the possibilities of change in the nature of this sector, the Third National Development Plan declares that the government is "considering" changes in licensing laws (which at the moment are very stringent), and providing extension and credit facilities for the self-employed. So far, the steps taken towards promoting small scale businesses or home-based income-generating activities have been limited. This fact particularly affects the rural women whose job opportunities are limited to seasonal wage employment or

smallsscale, home-based income-generating activities. The latter category is viewed by many rural women as their only opportunity for earning cash. However, since these women are not considered "employed" and do not form any organization or union, upon losing the market for their products and losing their jobs, they would not be considered "unemployed" either.

The unemployment issue in Swaziland is relatively recent and has many facets. Magagula (1981) predicts that for Swaziland to generate enough jobs in the wage sector, the country will need an exceptional 12 percent growth per annum. Considering the recent trends in the economy in Swaziland, this goal would be farfetched.

The open unemployment (zero income) and underemployment (part-time) is especially prevalent among women and the young. The factors exacerbating the unemployment situation are many: first, is the dependence of the wage sector on outmigration. The fluctuations in the number of migrant laborers in South Africa has a direct impact on the unemployment rate in Swaziland. In 1979, for example, based on the decision of the South African Chamber of Mines, the number of Swazi recruits to the South African mines was reduced to half the number in 1976. Although the increase in the number of those employed within Swaziland in that year was 3.5 percent, the drop in the number of migrants to the Republic reduced the rate of increase for the overall (formal) employment (within and outside Swaziland) to 1.8 percent. Although outmigration poses a solution to the unemployment

issue, its temporary and fluctuating nature makes it an unreliable source.

The second factor is the inadequate attention to the rural areas and the state of agriculture on the Swazi Nation Land. The limited job opportunities, the lower standards of living and the minimal cash income from subsistence agriculture drives many people, especially the men and the young to the urban and industrial areas in Swaziland in search of jobs. The concentration of the urban and industrial sectors in a few areas, and the prospects of more amenities and higher income are the factors speeding the migration out of the rural areas. It should, however, be noted that most migrations are of a temporary nature. The workers in the South African mines, for example, return permanently home after they have accumulated a sufficient capital.

Despite the recent efforts to include more practical, technical and agricultural education in the school curriculum, the educational system in the country is still very much academic oriented. Upon leaving school, the students expect a white collar job, especially in the urban areas. Government, their biggest employer, however, is presently facing a limitation in offering any further administrative jobs to this group. Ironically, side by side the existing labor surplus, there is a shortage of skilled manpower and a need for managerial, entrepreneurial, and technical skills. Factors contributing to the unemployment problem can be summarized as: the low economic growth, inflation, capital rather than labor intensive

modes of production in some industries, under-utilization of women in the economy, the nature of the educational system, and inadequate attention to agriculture on Swazi Nation Land and the negligence of the potentials of the informal sectors.

The employment situation is further worsened by the fact that Swaziland has to rely on foreign manpower to fill up the positions in many managerial and technical jobs. A "localization plan" has been devised to ensure the gradual replacement of the foreign experts by Swazis. The Third National Development Plan states that the government aims at a localization of jobs in the public sector of 95 percent. The Plan, however, admits that even by the end of the plan period (1983), many highly specialized positions would be held by non-Swazis. Although expatriates form only 2.5 percent of the total population, at times they contribute more than 13 percent of the manpower in some sections of the private sector. The following Table shows the degree of involvement of non-Swazis in the private sector in 1977.

Table 3.6.5

Non-Swazis as a Percent of the Total Manpower in the Private Sector, 1977

Finance	13.3	Manufacturing	5.3
Social Services	10.8	Transport & Storage	5.0
Construction	9.8	Distribution	4.6
Mining & Quarrying	8.5	Agriculture & Forestry	2.6

Source: Central Statistical Office, Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1978; as cited in Barclay's Economic Review, 1981.

1. Income Distribution

In 1977, the International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that while expatriates formed less than 5 percent of those in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector, they earned about 29 percent of the total wage sum (International Labor Organization, 1977). The ILO further reported that in 1974 the average income of the Swazis in the urban areas and the non-Swazis were respectively 10 and 40 times the average income of a Swazi farmer on Swazi Nation Land. Table 3.6.6 shows the distribution of income among the various population groups in 1974. In the absence of more recent data, one can assume that little change has since taken place in the structure of income distribution.

Table 3.6.6

Per Capita Income Among the Various Population Groups, 1974

	Swazis			Non-Swazis	Total
	Rural Areas		Urban Areas		
	Individual tenure farms	Swazi Nation Land	(including company towns)		
% of population	20	62	15	2.5	100
% of income	16	18	43	23	100
Per capita income (E.)	139	53	506	1,782	178

Source: International Labor Organization, 1977.

A study of homesteads in 1979 showed that the average per capita gross income for a non-cash crop farmer amounted to E. 151.50 (De Vletter, 1979). The national per capita income for 1980 was estimated to be E. 456 ($475) in 1978 prices (Office of the Prime Minister, 1982).

C. The Socio-Economic Implications of Labor Migration

1. Labor Supply in Wage Employment

The sharp rise in the number of laborers migrating to the Republic of South Africa over the 1974-1976 period caused serious labor shortages in Swaziland, especially on the commercial farms and in the agro-based industry. At the time it was commonly assumed that higher wages in the Republic were responsible for the outmigration. However, after investigating the wage differences between Swaziland and South Africa, the Federation of Swaziland Employers reported that "it was not a difference in wage structure that was responsible for the outflow to the mines, but rather intersectoral wage differentials that led to shortages in those sectors unable to compete remuneratively with the relatively high-wage mining sector" (Bevan & De Vletter, 1977 as cited by De Vletter, 1981a). In other words, those sectors offering relatively higher wages than others were facing no labor shortages while those offering lower wages were short of labor even though their wages could very well compete with those in the same sector in South Africa.

This picture was changed from the beginning of 1977 when Swaziland was suddenly faced with a labor surplus. De Vletter (1981a) suggests three reasons for this change: (a) the restrictions imposed by the gold mines in South Africa in 1977; (b) the adverse weather conditions in Swaziland resulting in poor yields in 1976; and (c) the diminishing capacity of the administrative and clerical sector which until then had absorbed many school leavers.

2. Labor Supply in the Rural Homestead

The higher wages in the urban and industrial areas within and outside Swaziland in comparison to the level of farm income for the average Swazi farmer have been an important "pull factor" for migration out of the rural areas. A survey carried out in the Rural Development Areas (RDAs) on Swazi Nation Land showed that anywhere from 20 to 57 percent of the homesteads in the various RDAs had over 50 percent of their adult males in temporary or permanent wage employment (Magagula, 1981).

The higher proportion of male versus female migrants and resident wage laborers inevitably results in a higher female/male ratio in the homesteads. Another study commissioned by FAO/USAID in 1979 found that three-quarters of the rural homesteads had absentee members while 15.5 percent had all their adult members absent. The study further concluded that as a result, only 62 percent of the adults (16 years and over) remained at the homestead (i.e., were

available for agricultural work) of which 51.6 percent were men and 73.3 percent were women (De Vletter, 1979, 1983).

It is also a fact that many migrants return to their homesteads during the planting season. The majority in this group are mine workers who because of their 9-month labor contracts can return home to help in ploughing and planting. Many other wage laborers, however, cannot leave their jobs, and their contribution to agricultural work at the homestead becomes limited to weekends and holidays. Still others are daily commuters, especially the members of homesteads located in the vicinity of the urban/industrial areas and plantations.

Studies have shown that on average men contribute to only 30 percent of the total farm work while women and children do the other 70 percent. The absence of men from the homesteads means an increase in the women's labor input on the farm and possibly a decrease in farm productivity since the agro-supporting services (i.e., extension, input and marketing) are usually exclusively focused on men.

3. Rural Homestead Cash Income

As indicated earlier, farming on Swazi Nation Land is primarily for subsistence, i.e. the production is aimed at self consumption. Only about five percent of the farmers engage in cash cropping. The high degree of dependence of the majority of the homesteads on wage labor as well as market goods, however, shows to what degree these farmers are affected by the market economy.

Cash income from wage labor is an important contribution to the homestead economy. The previously mentioned FAO/USAID study found that the average annual gross cash income per homestead resident was E. 131.50[16] (E. 79.00 median). Of the 65 percent of the homesteads which had members in wage labor, more than half received regular remittances averaging E. 33.50 (standard deviation E. 27.66) per month (Ibid, 1979). Besides cash, laborers also make contributions in kind, or invest in, for example, cattle (see also De Vletter, 1983).

The same study puts the mean gross cash income from agricultural activities (no intensive cash cropping) at E. 119.40 per homestead per year. A comparison of cash income from wage labor versus "subsistence" agriculture shows the importance of wage employment in the homestead economy. In the following table, Guma (1983) shows the prevalence of various ways in which the rural homesteads seek to supplement their "subsistence" activities through generation of cash.

3.7 Contribution of Women to Rural Development and Homestead Economy

The clear separation of the women's responsibilities in the "home" and in the "public" spheres in western societies has led to a distinction between "housewives" and "working women". Women falling in the former category are considered to be those who fulfill their responsibilities within the sphere of the household but do not contribute to the family income as "working women" do.

Table 3.6.7

Sources of Income and Rates of Participation

Source of Income	Rate of participation of homesteads (%)	Percent of total income cash
Wage Employment	83	31.89
Sale of Agricultural Goods	34	29.23
Handicrafts	25	3.73
Sale of Livestock	21	20.05
Beer Brewing	20	5.90
Traditional Medicine	6	8.51
Other (gifts, miscellaneous sales)	8	0.69
Total		100.00

Source: Guma, 1983.

In Swaziland and especially in the rural areas few women fall into the "housewife" category as defined in the west. To begin with the sphere of work, the rural Swazi women's activities can not easily be divided into activities "within" and "outside" the home since they overlap and are interrelated. The notion of "home" in the western society chiefly encompasses a nuclear family leaving women with the so-called "domestic" responsibilities, i.e. caring for their husband and children. The extended family, relatives, friends and everyone else is usually an outsider. If the western woman has a paid job, then she is considered to be working "outside" the home and helping to support the immediate family members.

The concept of "domestic" responsibility for the Swazi women is, however, more complicated since it encompasses an "extended family", i.e. not only the husband and children, but family and relatives of the husband and at times children of some other relatives who are left in their care. Women's responsibility towards this "big family" not only includes the usual "domestic" activities (although on an expanded level), but requires financial (cash and/or kind) contribution to the household.

Although some women do get involved in off-farm wage labor, most are self employed or work "on their own account". Their work usually includes farming on the family farm as well as their own plots, growing the family food, trading, beer brewing, sewing and knitting, and production and sale of handicraft products. These activities contribute considerably to the economy of the family either through the provision of cash or labor. Because almost all these jobs are based in the household or near it, and since the western concept of a "working woman" places her sphere of income earning outside the home, it would be necessary to use a different yardstick for measuring the involvement of rural Swazi women in the economy.

As a result of using inappropriate measurements, the work of the rural women is classified as domestic and rendered economically nonviable. In order to fully understand the role of Swazi women in the rural economy, it would be necessary to examine all the aspects of

rural women's activities both in relation to the homestead and the community as a whole.

The involvement of women in the decision making process of their community is limited due to its male dominated social and political structure. Women, however, are the most enthusiastic participants in community development projects and form about 60 percent of the total participants (Paulson, 1983). They contribute to the labor necessary to realize community projects and form the majority participating in social welfare programs, skills training courses and literacy classes.

A. Rural Development Policy--An Overview

In order to be able to put women's role in rural development in perspective, it is first necessary to examine the existing policy of the government. Rural development has, for long, had a prominent position in the government's overall development strategy. Recognizing the importance of rural resources in the lives of about 85 percent of the population and in the national economy as a whole, Swaziland's development plans have emphasized the need for rural development even more vigorously during the past decade. While attempts have been made to provide the necessary infrastructure, health and educational facilities, as well as other amenities, most of the attention has been focused on agricultural activities.

Although agriculture and agro-based industry are the main contributors to Swaziland's economy in terms of export value, the

country's relatively impressive agricultural growth rates have been largely realized by the Individual Tenure Farms (the modern agricultural sector). The farmers on Swazi Nation Land have had little share of the prosperity in the agricultural sector except in the form of wage employment on the ITFs.

The widening economic gap between the SNL farmers and those in the modern agricultural sector on the one hand, and the rural and urban population on the other hand, prompted the government to adopt new policies for the development of Swazi Nation Land. The new strategies seem even more vital when one considers two facts. First, that about 85 percent of the population live in the rural areas; and second, despite the prevalence of wage labor among the homestead members, the rural population including the wage laborers depends on land for the production of at least part of its subsistence needs.

It was in recognition of these facts that in 1965 discussions began in order to establish a program to enhance the agricultural productivity on Swazi Nation Land. The implementation of the program, however, did not begin until 1970 when a Rural Development Areas Program (RDAP) was set up with the assistance of the British Government. This program included the physical reorganization of land use patterns, the provision of adequate infrastructure on Swazi Nation Land, as well as supply of inputs and extension advice. Improved land use would be achieved through fencing the grazing land, construction of dams and removal of farm buildings from arable land. The land

selected for RDAP was divided into four "intensive input" Rural Development Areas (RDAs) covering 7 percent of the total Swazi Nation Land.

The "Swaziland Report for the year 1966" provides an overview of the agricultural development in the country at the time. The only reference made to women in this section of the report, however, concerns the formation of domestic science centers and increase in the number of women's clubs under the Home Economic Section of the Ministry of Agriculture.

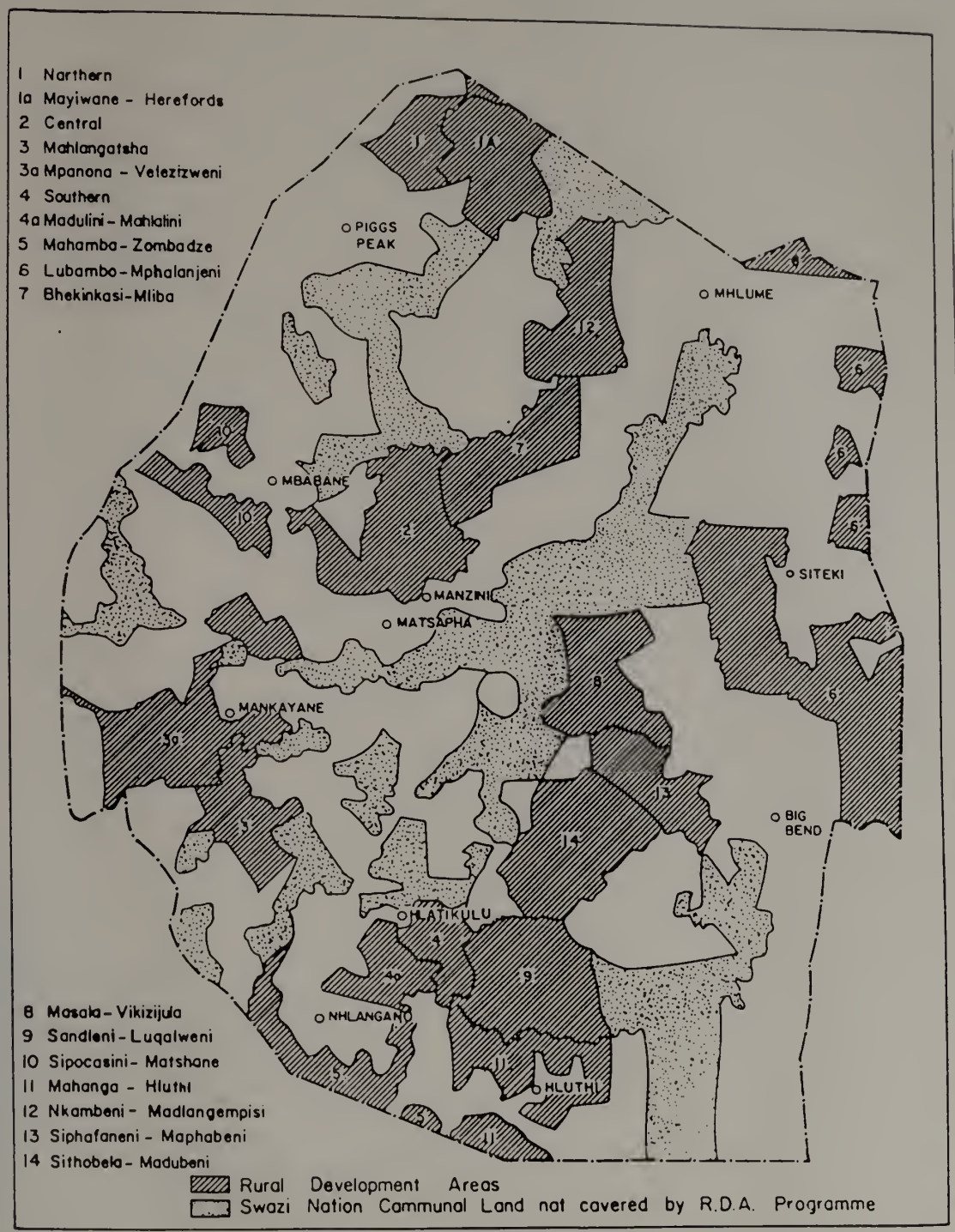
Moreover, the Second Development Plan (1973/74-1978/79) highlighted the efforts of the government to "gradually" change the traditional agriculture from subsistence to semi-commercial and commercial farming in order to create more employment opportunities and raise the level of income in the rural areas. The RDAP had a certain impact on farming on SNL, for example, the government announced that the cultivation of cotton on SNL had increased from 4.6 percent of the total area before the implementation of the RDAP, to 11.2 percent in the 1975/76 agricultural season. However, nearly all the export crops were still grown on the foreign owned freehold land. Sugar, citrus and cotton produced on Individual Tenure Farms constituted 93 percent of the country's total export value (excluding wood products) in 1976. One of the other major aims of the RDAP was to increase the maize production for the internal market. However, this aim was not fully realized as demonstrated by an annual increase

of food imports of 17.8 percent during the period 1971-1974 (International Labor Organization, 1977).

The Third National Development Plan (1978/79-1982/83) gave an even more prominent standing to the RDAP. Government's overall development objectives for the rural areas further emphasized the importance of self reliance in achieving a higher quality of living for the rural people. This objective was to be realized through the provision of improved farm inputs and more advanced animal husbandry techniques, as well as improving the rural amenities and promoting nonformal education. The plan, further, made provisions for the addition of ten more RDAs to the original four. The expanded RDAP would in total cover about 60 percent of the farmed Swazi Nation Land and serve approximately 200,000 people. Of the 10 new RDAs, two fell into the "intensive input" and the rest into the "low input" category; the latter was designed to receive only a limited package of inputs and services as compared to the former.

The selection of RDAs was based on such criteria as soil fertility or the attitude of local chiefs and farmers towards "modern" farming in order to increase the potentials for the success of the program (Funnel, 1982; De Vletter, 1979; International Labor Organization, 1977). In other words, preference was given to areas with high agricultural potential and the "progressive" farmers who, because of better resources available to them, could afford positive attitudes towards new agricultural methods. This group of farmers has

Map 3.7.1. RURAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS



Source: Third National Development Plan.

benefited from the RDAP; the exclusion of the poorer ("traditional") farmers has, not surprisingly, resulted in widening the income gap among the rural population. This selection process, therefore, has proved "...to impede broadbased rural development by concentrating the benefits of development on those who have disproportionate access to the main preconditions for agricultural development (land, credit, education, influence, etc.), thus further impoverishing those at the bottom of the economic ladder" (Magagula, 1981, p. 26).

The division of the RDAs into the two categories of "intensive" and "low input" has further exacerbated the economic gap among the various population groups. The rationale offered for this dichotomy was the shortage of funds on the one hand and the lengthy process of provision of infrastructure on the other. It was thought useful to make improved services available to the "low input" areas until they received structural changes at a later stage. This rationale, although plausible, could not help but create an air of discrimination among the farmers.

Mindful of the social implications of the RDAP and the reluctance of the Swazi farmers to depart from traditional norms, the Third Development Plan prescribes a "gradual" change and suggests "improvement" techniques rather than radical changes in the traditional agricultural production patterns, including land tenure. As mentioned in earlier sections, plots of SNL are assigned to farmers by the chief who acts on behalf of the king and under the guidance of

the Swazi National Council. Plots are allocated for farming and as sites for homes while the rest of the land is for communal use. Any Swazi male willing to offer allegiance to the Area Chief can apply for land upon his acceptance by the Chief as a subject. The status of the Area Chief as the representative of the traditional authority at the local level establishes a strong hierarchy between him and his subjects. Although a farmer's land can be taken away from him by the chief, in practice this rarely ever happens.

Thus land, not surprisingly, has been an important factor shaping the outcomes of the RDAP. The communal nature of the grazing lands has failed to secure a sense of responsibility among the farmers to control their livestock population and help the overstocking and overgrazing problems. Lack of "ownership" to the land, on the other hand, prevents the farmer from making any serious investments such as fencing, terracing, drainage, etc. Shortage of good farming land in particular and land in general, are two other factors hindering the success of the RDAP. It is therefore inevitable that some farming land in particular and land in general, are two other factors hindering the success of the RDAP. It is therefore inevitable that some farmers should resist, or are simply not able to engage in cash crops as proposed by the RDAP since the transition from subsistence farming to cash cropping would require higher input resources usually unavailable to many of them. The results of a survey among the rural homesteads showed that a little less than half of the farmers who do

not engage in growing cotton or tobacco (two of the main crops encouraged by the RDAP), stated that they did not have enough land or that their land happened not to be of the right quality for such cash crops (De Vletter, 1979). Also, until recently good employment opportunities existed outside the agricultural sector which, to some people, were more attractive than cash cropping.

Besides the land tenure issue, there have been other factors marring the success of the RDAP. Swazi homesteads are situated far from each other and the lack of population centers makes the provision of rural amenities difficult. In certain areas where resettlement has been necessary, though, officials have met resistance from the local population. Moreover, approval or disapproval of the Area Chief of the objectives of the RAP has been another important determinant in the faith of rural development in each area. One could assume that the new developments, in the eyes of some chiefs, would pose a threat to their authority. It is therefore conceivable that some potential "modern" farmers would be discouraged from adoption of the new agricultural techniques not only by their chief, but also by their relatives and neighbors. Advancement and prosperity of a farmer, who until recently was at the same economic level as others in the same chiefdom are looked upon with envy, suspicion and are sometimes considered as witchcraft. There are indications that "local attitudes by both the chief and community stifle independent initiative which departs from traditional norms, to the extent that witchcraft,

banishment and occasionally violence are resorted to" (Ibid., 1979, p. 40).

In order to better analyze and understand the government's rural development policy, it is necessary to examine some of the assumptions underlying the design of the rural development programs and how they affected the rural population, especially women. Aware of the growing unemployment problem, migration of men and young people to the urban and industrial areas, and the economic inequalities between the urban and rural sectors, the Swazi Government proceeded to adopt agricultural development as the main solution, more or less to the exclusion of other ways of creating employment for the rural population. The assumption seems to have been that agricultural commercialization would both raise the income levels of the farmers and create new job opportunities for the rest of the rural population at the same time. The important factor which was overlooked in the implementation of this policy was that even in poor rural areas families may have different income levels. While those with better resources did benefit from the new agricultural policies and opportunities, those with lesser means and more need for assistance lagged behind. The inequities in access to resources and benefits of economic development also exist within the framework of the household. The current development policy ignores the separation of the resources and roles of husbands and wives and assumes that the increase in men's income is enjoyed as much by their wives and children.

Another assumption was that all the rural families were farming families. Access to land, though a necessary condition, on its own is not sufficient to qualify anyone as a farmer. This fact was confirmed through an evaluation of the RDAs which showed that over 50 percent of the respondents in two of the RDAs did not consider themselves "farmers"[17] despite the fact that they were engaged in subsistence agriculture (Magagula, 1978). The next assumption which particularly affects women and is implied in many agricultural programs in the developing countries, is that the farmers were all men. This was despite the fact that in Swaziland men only contribute to one-third of the total farm work and over 20 percent of the Swazi homesteads are headed by women. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, many women become de facto heads of the household or homestead when their husband is away on wage employment. Not surprisingly, then, the input services and agricultural advice have been aimed at men and not women who are traditionally responsible for the family food production.

It was further assumed that the provision of jobs in the rural areas through agriculture and vocational training would slow down the rate at which the young people left the rural areas in search of jobs. Unfortunately, many school leavers still prefer more prestigious jobs in the urban areas. This fact has also been confirmed in relation to the Rural Education Centers (RECs) which were designed to teach the rural population, especially the school leavers, skills necessary for self employment. Unfortunately, these centers managed to attract fewer men than was foreseen, and almost no young people at all. An

evaluation of the RECs indicated, among other things, the low status attached to such jobs as carpentry which makes them unattractive to young men. Women, on the other hand, have made good use of this opportunity to acquire skills for income-generating activities. Thus, until the prevalent attitudes towards technical and "business" skills prevail, and so long as the urban areas provide higher paying jobs and better amenities, young people could be expected to leave the farming life.

As far as the impact of the transition from subsistence farming to cash cropping on the workload of the women and the nutritional status of the family is concerned, no studies have been carried out in Swaziland as yet. However, knowing that the labor requirements for planting cotton are twice and those of tobacco are six times those of the traditional crops like maize and sorghum (Funnel, 1982), it would be correct to assume that cash cropping has increased the Swazi women's workload on the farm.[18] As concerns the nutritional aspects of cash cropping, a study of the cotton growers in the south of Swaziland showed that the acreage under food crops, including staples such as maize was reduced on many farms (Sterkenburg & Testerink, 1982). Among those who adopt the new agricultural policies, many prefer to grow cotton and tobacco rather than maize because of the higher revenues from such non-food cash crops. While the shift to commercial agriculture may be economically rational, studies have shown that it has an adverse effect on the nutrition status of the family (Hanger, 1973; Bukh, 1977; Muntemba, 1982; Chanoy, 1980). This

appears to be the general pattern and Swaziland could not be an exception. Furthermore, the income from cash crops belongs to men who usually prefer to invest their money in cattle. Thus, the women have little or no access to this source of income in order to purchase food and supplement the diet of the family. At the same time, the higher labor requirements for cash crop production leave them with less time for attending to their vegetable garden and fulfilling their responsibility of food production for the family. Considering the above factors, a decline in the nutritional status of the rural population seems inevitable.

One of the major issues facing the small farmers has been the area of input services and extension advice. The first department of cooperatives in Swaziland was established in 1963. The movement had a slow start but by the end of 1977 approximately 5,000 members were making use of 47 farmers' cooperatives whose services included input supply, credit and marketing. It is estimated that presently only 15 percent of the homesteads are reached by the cooperative movement with an average of only 65 members per cooperative society (Adelstal, 1980).

The reasons for the low number of members are manifold. Lack of funds, management problems and shortage of trained personnel have impeded the expansion and hampered the services of the cooperatives. Moreover, most of the services are geared towards cash croppers who form a very small percentage of the farmers on Swazi Nation Land. Small farmers often complain about the preferential treatment that the

cash croppers receive from the extension workers. Almost three quarters of the homesteads in Swaziland have never received the services of an agricultural extension officer (De Vletter, 1979). The Ministry of Agriculture, in fact, admits that there are not enough well trained extension workers to cover the entire country.

Credit, also, is more readily available to those farmers engaged in commercial farming and the small farmers receive only small loans on the security of cattle or farm equipment. Marketing, although well organized for the Individual Tenure Farms, suffers from lack of skilled personnel and organizational management on Swazi Nation Land.

With the limited extension advice and services available to the majority of small farmers on the Swazi Nation Land, it is little surprise that women have received even a smaller share. The majority seem to receive agricultural advice mostly from those Home Economic extension workers who have been trained in "practical" agriculture, i.e., the very basic skills in growing vegetables and raising small animals.

In order to raise the standard of living in the rural areas and to provide more job opportunities, aside from RDAP, other development plans have also been devised and implemented albeit on a modest scale. To improve the health of the rural population, clinics have been established throughout the country and the rural health officers pay regular visits to the homesteads. Home economics officers advise women on nutrition, better ways of food preparation and home management techniques. In order to improve the nutritional status of

the rural families and to increase their income-earning opportunities, raising animals such as chickens, goats and pigs as well as fish farming are encouraged by the Ministry of Agriculture with the assistance of international aid organizations. Handicraft officers from the Ministry of Commerce assist women's groups in handicraft production.

Rural Education Centers have been established throughout the country to provide adults and school leavers with an opportunity to learn skills for self employment. Sebenta National Institute, each year, organizes about seven hundred literacy classes. Community development officers assist the rural (and urban) population with self help projects. These projects are designed to provide material aid to those communities which through contributing their own resources, would like to improve or build a water supply system, storage shed, market place, women's workshops, etc.

B. Women and Agriculture

According to the traditional division of labor in Swaziland, in the past men were responsible for clearing the land while women took care of cultivation (Kuper, 1947). The introduction of the plough, however, brought about a change in the division of labor. The taboos regarding the handling of larger livestock by women resulted in a shift in the responsibility for preparing the land from women (who used the hoe), to men (Kuper, 1963). Although traditional beliefs have acted as an important determinant in the separation of men's and

women's agricultural responsibilities, economic necessity has been an overriding factor and in many cases been able to overcome traditional beliefs and taboos. A good example of this fact can be seen in the issue of women handling the cattle. Although animal husbandry used to be considered a "masculine" tasks carrying high status (Ibid., 1963), and despite all the taboos which made looking after the cattle the responsibility of the men, today, the prevalence of women headed households and the migration of men in search of wage employment are economic realities which belie the traditional taboos (Booth, 1983). Nowadays in Swaziland, only 20 percent of men are the primary persons responsible for looking after the cattle; while women and children do the bulk of this work.

Swazi women have also always played an important role in food production. Family as the unit of production and consumption self-sufficient economy, used to be almost completely self-sufficient, with women at their center (Marwick, 1966). Each wife in a polygamous relationship, had her own household, her own piece of land for food cultivation, and a share of the cattle to use for her family. Each wife grew the food crops with "some assistance from her husband" to feed her children, and to "contribute her quota to her husband's gastronomic needs" (Marwick, 1966, p. 44).

The present pattern in the division of agricultural labor in Swaziland is quite similar to that in many other developing countries in Africa. Swazi women are the main contributors who with the help of their children perform two-thirds of the farm work (World Bank, 1977;

USAID, 1980). As a rule, women and children do the time consuming jobs such as hoeing and weeding, while men are responsible for activities which need more physical strength but usually less time (i.e., ploughing). With the involvement of almost two-thirds of the adult men in off-homestead activities, the agricultural labor force becomes dominated by women and children who have limited wage employment opportunities, i.e., their opportunity cost of labor is low. Table 3.7.1 shows the division of farm labor in the Central RDA and the Mahamba-Zombodze area in Swaziland.

Table 3.7.1

Contribution of the Various Types of Labor to Farm Work

Type of Labor	Total Farm Work		Local Maize	
	Central RDA	Mahamba-Zombodze RDA	Central RDA	Mahamba-Zombodze RDA
Under 10 years	6.0	6.1	5.0	5.0
10-14 years	8.7	16.0	12.0	13.0
Males 15-64 years	30.0	32.6	24.0	26.0
Females 15-64 years	39.0	40.5	46.0	47.0
Over 64 years	1.8	5.8	3.0	10.0
Community	.5	4.8	--	6.0
Hired (seasonal)	1.8	5.8	1.0	2.0

Source: Farm Management Survey Reports No. 4 and 5, Monitoring and Evaluation Unit, Rural Development Areas Program, Ministry of Agriculture, 1979, as cited by De Vletter, 1979.

Women's major responsibility is growing the family food. As the above table shows, women do almost half of the work necessary for maize production. Men's contribution in this respect is only half

that of the women. In cultivating beans, another staple food, women do 72 percent of the work, men 13 percent and children 15 percent (Low, 1977). Moreover, some women set up vegetable gardens or raise chickens and goats to supplement the family food. Men usually have very little or no share in the labor necessary for these gardens or for raising smaller animals. If the products are sold, the proceeds belong to the women (Ngubani, 1983). Women's agricultural activities are, naturally, more intensive in the female headed households. Here the part of the work usually done by men is carried out either by the women themselves, or by hired labor, if possible. Table 3.7.2 based on a study done by the Government of Swaziland in collaboration with UNICEF, further underlines the high degree of women's involvement in agriculture (see also De Vletter, 1983).

Table 3.7.2

Persons Primarily Responsible for Different Agricultural Activities

Type of Activity	Women	Husband	Children	Relatives	Total
Preparing land	34.7	54.6	9.2	1.5	100
Fertilizing	39.7	47.2	10.6	2.5	100
Ploughing	24.4	61.9	12.7	1.0	100
Planting	52.7	35.8	7.8	3.7	100
Hoeing	88.5	1.9	3.8	5.8	100
Weeding	91.0	--	3.8	5.2	100
Harvesting	92.4	1.3	0.4	5.9	100
Sorting and storing	88.7	6.0	1.0	4.3	100
Preservation of food	96.4	--	--	3.6	100
Looking after sheep and goats	47.3	21.8	27.3	--	100
Looking after cattle	46.7	20.6	32.7	--	100
Going to the cattle dip	34.6	30.7	33.9	0.8	100

Source: Government of Swaziland/UNICEF, 1978/79.

The economic necessity has also left its mark on the pattern of decision making concerning agriculture. While men are still the primary persons responsible for the decisions pertaining to farming, women have become more involved in this area. Especially when their husbands are away for long periods of time, women have to take part in the day-to-day management of the farm.

In addition to participation in the production of food for home consumption, women also contribute considerably to the labor needed for cash crop production. They do 40 percent of the work in cotton cultivation as opposed to 22 percent for men and 38 percent for children; while in growing tobacco, the share of women's work is 58 percent, and men's and children's 26 and 16 percent, respectively (Low, 1977). The income from cash crops exclusively belongs to men, and women work on their husband's plots as "unpaid laborers."

If women have any income out of the sale of vegetables or small animals, it is used to further supplement the food for the family, to buy clothing or pay the school fees for the children. If women's income from these activities becomes considerable, there is always the danger that men may decide to take over the business. This would, naturally, serve as a disincentive for women to engage in, or expand their activities in cash cropping, animal raising or other farm-related income-generating activities. Studies have shown that while women's cash income is mostly used to feed and clothe the family, a good portion of men's income is spent outside the home and on luxurious items for men alone. Detailed studies will be necessary

to examine the patterns of income sharing within the rural Sqazi families.

Despite the overwhelming evidence on the contribution of Swazi women to agriculture, their access to resources necessary to improve their productivity is severely limited.[19] The reason primarily lies with the socio-economic prejudices of the Swazi society, which like many other developing (and developed) countries is male dominated and male oriented. As a result, the crucial role of the women in agricultural development is neglected and men are assumed to be the only "farmers." "Thus training courses designed to familiarize the farmers with new techniques are organized (for and) by men only; extension agents attempting to introduce innovations such as fertilizers, improved seed and terracing direct their attention primarily to men; and access to loans and facilities of cooperatives, necessary for investments in modern agriculture, are more or less limited to men" (Rosen-Prinz, 1978, p. 6).

The extension programs which are available to women, however, concentrate mostly on domestic and so called "women's activities" such as food preparation, child care, sewing and knitting. The purpose of most of such programs is improvement of health and nutrition standards of the rural families which although undeniably necessary, are not designed to increase the remunerative employment among women. Even agricultural schemes such as animal raising and vegetable production are chiefly for home consumption. Thus, while the extension programs for men increase the expertise of the male farmers and are primarily

economic oriented, most women's programs are only concerned with the welfare of the family. In addition, women's access to credit and loan facilities are limited by their lack of knowledge of such facilities, lack of collateral, or social and cultural limitations (e.g., the need for men's approval of women's economic activities).

C. Role of Women in the Family

Women are responsible for a multitude of activities in relation to their family. These include growing and preparing food, caring for the children, the sick and the old, cleaning and washing, as well as fetching water and firewood. Some of these tasks are done with the assistance of young children. However, with the increase in the number of school going children, this source of assistance has become limited. Table 3.7.3 shows the degree of contribution of the different family members to domestic chores.

Table 3.7.3
The Contribution of the Various Family Members to Domestic Chores in the Rural Areas

Type of Activity	Person primarily responsible (%) Woman	Husband	Children	Relative	Total
Cooking	87.5	0.3	4.3	7.9	100
Washing Up	71.8	0.7	21.3	6.2	100
Cleaning	87.7	--	6.0	6.3	100
Fetching Water	79.6	0.7	15.6	4.1	100
Washing Clothes	90.6	--	5.1	4.3	100
Gathering Grass	95.4	--	0.8	3.8	100
Gathering Wood	84.2	2.1	6.2	7.5	100
Brewing Beer	90.0	--	1.1	8.9	100
Looking after the Children	85.7	0.5	5.3	8.5	100
Plastering Walls/Floors	95.9	1.5	2.2	0.4	100
Building & Maintenance	15.0	73.8	9.9	1.3	100

Source: Government of Swaziland/UNICEF, 1978/79.

As the table indicates, the only major responsibility of the men regarding domestic activities is in the building and maintenance of the homestead which, traditionally, is a male activity. Older children assist in caring for the younger ones, and girls involve in cooking, washing and fetching water (see also De Vletter, 1983). The scarcity of water in certain areas seriously affects such activities as cooking, washing or plastering of the walls and floors of the homestead structures. The long distance to a source of water further makes the task of fetching water very time consuming and tiresome. Some women have to walk for hours each day to supply the necessary water for their family. Only 10.7 percent of the homesteads have access to a community standpipe, piped water at home, or cistern; another 3.3 percent can make use of wells or boreholes (De Vletter,

1981, 1983). The rest will have to rely on rivers, streams or springs. Other time consuming activities in terms of distance are gathering grass for thatching the roofs or weaving mats, washing clothes at the river, and gathering wood for cooking.

The use of appropriate technology for home improvement (i.e., cheap and effective facilities for storing water and food, drying and grinding food, or cooking) are very new and not yet common among the rural women in Swaziland. There is as yet only one village technology unit producing such facilities in the north of the country. While some families find the costs of such items prohibiting to their budget, others prefer the more modern appliances available for sale in many parts of the country.

In addition to the above activities, women are also responsible for taking care of the sick members of the family and preparing food for such special occasions as weddings, feasts, etc. Although the so called "home duties" may not produce cash, their importance in creating a harmonious and healthy atmosphere for all members of the family should not be underestimated.

D. Contribution of Women to the Homestead's Cash Flow

Besides their responsibilities at home and on the farm, women are also expected to contribute to the family cash income. While some women seek wage employment, usually in the form of seasonal employment

on the large plantations or in agribusiness industries the majority because of their responsibilities at home, have to or prefer to choose homestead-based self employment. The activities they engage in, can be divided into two, though not mutually exclusive, categories. First, those like vegetable growing, animal raising, fish farming, and to a lesser extent cash cropping which are agricultural in nature. In order to make such activities economically profitable, a relatively high level of resources and know-how are necessary. The second category comprises of non-agricultural, yet mostly homestead-based income generating activities. These include sewing, knitting, handicraft production, trading, beer brewing, and selling cooked food. These activities need comparatively little resources and training. The basis for many of these activities are the traditional or domestic skills which women already have and further training is more readily available through a variety of sources.

After remittances from migrant wage labor, income earned from non-agricultural income-generating activities forms a major portion of the homestead's cash income. About two-thirds of all the rural homesteads are involved in one or more non-agricultural homestead-based income-generating activities. Two homestead surveys found that 60 percent of these are involved in handicraft production, 42.2 percent in beer brewing, 11 percent in selling prepared food, 10.6 percent in preparing and selling traditional medicine, 7 percent in selling clothing, and 6.2 percent in trading at markets and roadside

stalls (De Vletter, 1981, 1983). Excluding beer brewing and the production of traditional medicine (which provide incomes much higher than those of the other activities), the average annual cash income per homestead from non-agricultural homestead-based income-generating activities amounted to E. 133.60 (Ibid.,1979). Due to the greater involvement of the men in off-farm labor, almost all those involved in most of the above-mentioned activities area women. This is especially true of handicraft production, beer brewing, selling cooked food and vegetables, as well as making and selling clothing. It is estimated that of those involved in such activities, 80 to 90 percent were adult women, 18 percent adult men and the rest children under 16 years (Ibid., 1978, 1983).

Women's involvement in these income-generating activities is part time and has to be accommodated for whenever farm work and household chores permit. The amount of time invested especially fluctuates with the farming seasons and the amount of labor available for agricultural activities. Handicraft production is the most popular activity among women. Swazi women are talented in this art and make good use of the availability of such raw materials as wood, grass and fibers. In almost every homestead at least one woman is engaged in handicraft production for use at home, to be given as presents, or for sale. Mothers, friends and relatives play an important role in the dissemination of skills and expert assistance is also provided by the government and voluntary organizations.

E. Position of Women in the Informal Sector

Unlike many other African countries, Swaziland has a surprisingly small informal sector. Informal sector is, here, described to include such activities as carpentry, trading, hawking, the production and sale of handicrafts and small repair shops. These activities fall into one of the categories of manufacturing, services or trading. The main characteristic of these activities is the conversion of economic resources in goods and services. They require organization, i.e., the act of combining human and material resources in pursuit of an economic goal. The person involved in such activities, therefore, would be the coordinating agent pulling these resources together and creating an enterprise (Cortes, 1975; Mushonga, 1981).

The importance of informal sector as a means of economic growth is well demonstrated by the growing attention paid by the governments (especially) of developing countries to this field. The two most important benefits of the growth of the informal sector are creation of employment through relatively low capital investments, and raising the income level of those who do not have access to the formal sector.

Despite the alarm raised by the officials regarding the increasing unemployment problem and the growing income disparities among the rural and urban areas, the informal sector has not received the attention it deserves in Swaziland and has had a slow rate of growth. The present state of this sector is detrimental to most of

the rural population, especially women, who due to lack of other employment opportunities, mostly seek their source of livelihood in the informal sector.

Today, very few Swazi-owned and run small scale enterprises exist. Furthermore, the number of small scale traders, service enterprises and even hawkers are limited. There are approximately 25 markets across the country, many of which operate only a few days per week. The busiest of these are located in the population centers of Manzini and Mbabane, and along the road joining these two towns. Others are situated near border posts, company towns and along the well traveled routes. These market places and roadside stalls are almost entirely engaged in the sale of handicrafts, vegetables, fruits, and cooked food and are run primarily by women.

The majority of women involved in the informal sector, however, are "own account" traders, i.e., they produce at home, do not own a business place (like a shop), work on an irregular schedule, and provide limited employment opportunities for others, except for few family members and relatives. These "own account" workers are characterized by limited or no formal education and a general lack of access to employment in the formal sector. In addition, many lack "business" skills and have a limited access to marketing outlets as well as loan and credit facilities. Their work, therefore, does not have the features and benefits of the meaningful employment in

comparison to employment in the formal sector, and the manufacturing and service enterprises in the informal sector.

The slow growth of the informal sector in Swaziland is, for the most part a reflection of the government's current policy towards rural development. The government seems to have focused its attention on commercial agricultural as the major vehicle for raising the standard of life in the rural areas. The potential of the informal sector in creation of employment for the rural population, who have little access to employment in the formal sector, has, thus, been neglected.

The reasons for the surprisingly small size of the informal sector in Swaziland are manifold. To begin with, Swaziland is a small country with scattered homesteads and only a few urban centers. The small size of the urban population tends to limit the market for services and consumer goods while the disperse nature of the homesteads makes the provision of services in the rural areas difficult. However, one should bear in mind that the distances are relatively small and that nowhere in Swaziland one is more than 75 kilometers from a border.

Proximity to the Republic of South Africa with its highly developed market and advanced technology is another impediment. The high level of industrialization in the Republic and the Customs Union Agreement permit South Africa to export its products to Swaziland at competitive prices. Although provision has been made in the Customs

Union Agreement for the involved governments to levy additional duties on imported goods, Swaziland has not been making use of this opportunity. In view of lack of import restrictions, the Swazi enterprises find it extremely difficult to compete with the lower prices and at times better quality of the South African products. Proximity to the big urban and shopping centers in the Republic, further, encourages the expatriate community and well-to-do Swazi families to do their shopping outside Swaziland (Johannsburg is only 400 kilometers from Mbabane).

Since the early colonial days, the trade in Swaziland has been controlled by non-Swazis and based on foreign (primarily South African) capital. Even today, the distribution system is in the hands of South Africans, mostly in the form of chain stores. The dominance of foreign investment in small commercial enterprises has left little room for the development of "business" skills among the Swazis.

Another reason for the slow growth of the informal sector could be that the unemployment problem, though picking up momentum, still has not reached such dimensions that would encourage the development of entrepreneurship. However, the capability of the Republic of South Africa to employ 10 to 12 thousand Swazis per year still acts as a safety valve which keeps the unemployment relatively low. The level of status attributed to jobs also plays an important role in the attitude of people towards them. As said earlier, the educational system in Swaziland does not fully value, and is not oriented towards vocational and entrepreneurial skills.

One of the assumed characteristics of the informal sector is the relative ease with which job opportunities can be created (see e.g., Tokman, 1978; Weeks, 1975). The licensing system in Swaziland, however, has made it very difficult for those interested in working in the informal sector to start their business. Presently, hardly any economic activity can be carried out without a proper license. Many people, especially women, find the conditions and costs of obtaining such a license difficult to meet. For example, the license fee for a hawker amounts to E. 30 per year, and for a grocer E. 50 per year in an urban business area and E. 15 in the rural areas. Moreover, the applicants have to prove that they have enough capital to build up a sufficient stock of goods. The situation is even more difficult for women since, for example, married women cannot obtain a license without the permission of their husband. Problems can, obviously, arise if the husband is living or working far away (as in the case of mine laborers in South Africa) and does not return for long periods, or when he is opposed to the idea as a whole.

Besides the above political and economic reasons, there are certain social and cultural factors which have, further, resulted in slowing down the growth of the informal sector in Swaziland. While the young generation of Swazis today has a different set of values and life style, the "cultural traditions that reward noncompetitive behavior"[20] have been considered by some to be responsible for the attitude of the "average" Swazi towards self-employment (Penner,

1982). The check on the accumulated wealth of a person and his or her responsibility to share it with the extended family and other relatives would not be an incentive for an ambitious person to work harder (Cortes, n.d.). This cultural value system, therefore, can act as a barrier to achievement motivation, the suggested primary ingredient for successful enterprise development (Hunter, n.d.; Mushonga, 1981).

In addition, many Swazis find it difficult to find enough cash to invest in an enterprise. The above-mentioned social barriers, the large size of the extended family (several generations usually live on one homestead), and the usual absence of a considerable cash income to allow for savings, are among the reasons explaining the difficulty in setting up an enterprise. Furthermore, if there is any spare cash available, it is spent on buying cattle which is considered by Swazis to be the best type of investment. The situation is, thus, even more complicated for women who have less access to cash income then men and would, in many cases, have to depend on the male head of the family or other relatives for the initial investment necessary to start some sort of an enterprise. The existing marriage and inheritance laws which leave the family assets in the hands of men, are certainly not encouraging to women[21]. It is the women's primary duty to contribute to the upkeep of the family. That is the reason why most women engage in income-generating activities to assist in the provision of food, clothing and school fees for their children. In addition, any saving

(if at all possible), and investment in the traditional form, i.e., buying cattle, is not generally favored by women since cattle is the property of men.

The combination of the above political, economic and cultural factors have, therefore, served to mold the attitude of the average Swazi towards participation in the informal sector, and shaped the opportunities available in this field. Considering these conditions, it is little surprise that until independence (1968), not one Swazi owned or managed an industrial enterprise (Cortes, n.d.).

Up until now, handicraft production seems to be the major activity among those in the informal sector. It is, therefore, the only area which provides self employment, mostly for women, albeit on a part-time basis. Handicraft production includes traditional items such as spears and shields as well as goods for use at home such as table mats, sleeping mats and clay and wooden bowls and ornaments like beadwork, modern wood and soapstone carvings. The last two categories as well as leatherwork (except for shoe making) are usually considered to be the male's domain. In the absence of a national survey, it is hard to estimate the exact number of people, and the extent of their involvement in handicraft production. According to the Third National Development Plan, the handicraft sector provided employment for approximately 2,500 people in the rural areas, producing goods worth E. 500,000 per year.

Recognizing the employment potentials of handicraft production, the government requested in 1970 the assistance of the United Nations

Development Programme (UNDP) in the creation of the Small Enterprises Promotion Office (SEPO) in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism. SEPO is responsible for formulating policies and legislation regarding small indigenous enterprises as well as assisting in their development through providing technical and managerial training and services. Staffed by Swazi personnel and a team of U.N. experts, SEPO is primarily involved with the manufacturing industry rather than small trading and service enterprises. The Small Enterprises Development Company (SEDCO) is the implementing arm of SEPO. SEDCO is responsible for financial and technical assistance to the entrepreneurs and provides premises and equipment. Cortes describes the purpose of SEDCO as the following: "to assist the government in promoting the development of small enterprises and handicraft production with a view to rapidly increase the national income, create employment opportunities, gradually overcome dualism between the traditional and modern sectors of the economy and to reduce dependence on imports of essential consumer goods" (Cortes, n.d., p. 18).

Women, however, who are mostly involved in home-based, small-scale production and trading, have benefited little from the opportunities provided by SEDCO. The reasons are twofold: first, "businesses" and small scale "industries" (rather than home-based production and trading) have been the major focus of SEDCO; and secondly, there is simply little awareness among self-employed women with regards to SEDCO's activities and opportunities.

Another step taken towards the promotion of handicraft production has been the inclusion of crafts training in women's projects, or creating new income-generating projects with a strong emphasis on handicrafts. In the next chapter, women's income-generating projects will be discussed in detail.

3.8 Summary

A review of the Swazi government's current policy towards rural development showed that the present emphasis on agricultural development in the form of cash cropping has not been accompanied by other areas of employment creation in the rural areas. Women have particularly suffered since, with the existing socio-economic barriers, few can engage in cash cropping. Although women perform about two-thirds of the agricultural work, and despite the fact that over 20 percent of the rural households are headed by women, their access to agricultural services and advice remains limited.

Moreover, girls drop out of school at a higher rate than boys, and are usually excluded from technical and vocational training programs. Thus, women's access to employment in the formal sector becomes restricted. Rural women's options for income generation is particularly limited to either wage employment in agribusinesses as seasonal laborers with low pays and hazardous living and working conditions, or marketing and trading in the informal sector. Many women, therefore, turn to the informal sector for jobs, not only

because of lack of other opportunities, but because by being self employed, they will have enough flexibility to also perform their multiple responsibilities around the house and on the farm.

Despite its convenient income-generating potentials, the informal sector in Swaziland has not received the attention it deserves. Few Swazis and especially women are involved in distribution, manufacturing, or service enterprises. The bulk of the women in the informal sector in Swaziland are "own account" traders who produce and sell primarily handicraft, and to a lesser extent cooked food, vegetables and fruits.

Notes to Chapter III

[1]The Third National Development Plan reports a population growth rate of 2.8 percent per year. Many other sources, however, put this figure closer to 4 percent.

[2]A more detailed discussion of the migration issue in Swaziland will appear in Section 4.7.

[3]For more information on the use of rural health care facilities see, for example, Huppert, 1983.

[4]A full discussion of Swaziland's economy appears in Section 4.6.

[5]In 1982, King Sobhuza II died after reigning for sixty years. His successor is presently being trained for his position which he will assume when he is 21 years old. The country is presently run by a Council of Regents.

[6]The parliament is presently reinstated and its members were selected by the king.

[7]For a discussion of the Rural Development Areas Program, see section 4.9.

[8]This access is the result of the 1969 Customs Union Agreement between the Republic of South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho, which makes the involved countries the domain of free trade. There have been times, however, when local South African producers have tried to ban the products from Swaziland in order to protect their own markets.

[9]The Barclay's Bank economic report states that in 1979 and 1980, respectively 89.9 and 92.7 percent of the total imports to Swaziland came from the Republic of South Africa. The total value of the imports was estimated at E. 298,806,000 for 1979, and E. 362,774,000 for 1980.

[10]For a discussion of income distribution, see Section 4.7.

[11]Those involved in "home duties," and students, retired and handicapped people, as well as the visitors to the country were omitted from the labor force.

[12]In 1983, about 80 percent of the primary school teachers and 46.4 percent of the secondary school teachers were women.

[13]A full discussion of labor migration will appear in Section 3.7.

[14]Despite many efforts at defining the term "informal sector" (see for example, Mosley, 1978), no universally accepted definition exists. However, there is concensus as to the characteristics of the informal sector. These are: (1) ease of entry, (2) small production units, (3) low level technology, (4) low capital requirements, (5) enterprise run by the individual, (6) labor consists of unpaid family members, (7) labor intensive, (8) no marked distinction between owner of capital and the labor, (9) remuneration not always in the form of cash (Tokman, 1978; Weeks, 1975).

[15]A more complete discussion of the informal sector in Swaziland will appear in Section 4.8.

[16]The amount of E. 131.50 as the average gross cash income per homestead resident seems rather high. This amount would sound more appropriate if it was income per "adult" resident in the homestead.

[17]A large number of rural people with access to land, do not consider themselves as farmers as their main source of income is not derived from agricultural activities on the homestead.

[18]The introduction of cash crops has been accompanied by the use of modern machineries (in most cases), however, the new technology has not reduced women's work load on the farm as they still tend to use traditional farming implements.

[19]For a discussion of the degree of access of the women to agricultural inputs and services, see Magagula, 1978.

[20]Hilda Kuper, in her book "The Swazi, a South African Kingdom," points to the tradition of sharing among Swazis and suggests that accumulation of wealth by a commoner would put him in the danger of being suspected, by others, of evil deeds. She, further, concludes that the fear of witchcraft serves to put a check on the economic activities and prosperity of the people (Kuper, 1963).

[21]For a discussion of the position of Swazi women vis-a-vis the law, see "Women and the Law, Report of Proceedings from two Seminars held in Swaziland, January and June 1983" (Nhlapo, 1983).

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN'S INCOME-GENERATING PROJECTS IN SWAZILAND: AN OVERVIEW

4.1 Introduction

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the rural Swazi women perform multiple roles inside and outside the household. They contribute not only to the welfare of the family and community, but are engaged in growing food for the family consumption, and earning cash income mostly through income generating activities.

As farmers, many women lack modern know-how, equipment, resources, and access to services necessary for cash cropping. Moreover, social and cultural barriers limit their employment opportunity as wage laborers and salary earners. Involvement of women in income-generating activities, therefore is on the one hand a sign of economic necessity, and on the other, an indicator of the lack of other job opportunities.

The present chapter proceeds to describe and analyze a selection of the existing women's income-generating projects in Swaziland and the services and assistance network associated with them. In this chapter it is argued that:

1. In the absence of a strong women's organization (e.g., a women's bureau) and its lack of input into the government's central

economic planning body, women's income-generating projects are not part of the mainstream of the rural development policy.

2. Although income-generating activities, especially in the form of handicraft production, have been recognized as the only employment opportunity for many rural women, little has been done by the government in way of providing "business" services (such as marketing, cooperatives, credit, and the like) to the women producers.

In order to examine the existing situation of women's income-generating projects in Swaziland, it was first necessary to collect general information on all such projects and their related assistance or service network. Since little written information was available, a research study had to be designed to gather the necessary information. In the sections that follow, the design of this study, research questions, sample and instrumentation will be discussed. After the description of the research process, the collected information on the nature and scope of income generating projects in Swaziland will be presented and analyzed.

4.2 The Study

The research study was carried out in two phases. In the first phase, general information was collected about women's income-generating projects in Swaziland; i.e., their history and background, and, goals and objectives, types of skills training they offer, and

their choice of participants. In the second phase, this general information was used as the basis for the selection of three projects which would be subjected to more detailed investigation.

A. Phase One

In order to discover the full range of women's income-generating project's and due to the scarcity of written material on this subject, a combination of interviews and document search was used. The document search consisted of some government and project reports. It was noted that very few projects had any documentation available. In order to fill up this gap, 14 government officials and project planners who were directly or indirectly involved with women's income-generating activities, were interviewed.

1. Research Questions

The first phase of this research was designed to answer the following questions:

- What is the nature of women's income-generating projects in Swaziland? What skills do they offer? What are their goals and objectives?
- What is the organizational structure of these projects?
- What are the problems they face?
- Who are the participants in these projects?
- What "business" services are available to the participants?

2. Sample

At this stage the sample included all the "women only" income-generating projects as well as those which were designed both for men and women but whose participants were mostly women. All these projects and programs had only "training" components. The commercial training programs which employed the women upon the completion of their training, were excluded from the sample. In addition, other elements of women's income-generation such as women's groups and major service organizations were also examined.

3. Instrumentation

An open-ended questionnaire was developed for the purpose of interviewing the 14 officials and gathering general information on the existing network of income-generating projects, programs, and service organizations.

This questionnaire[1] dealt with the following issues:

a. History of the project/program/organization: When did it start? Who initiated it? Who funds it? What other organizations does it liaise with?

b. Goals and Objectives: Why was it started? What are the goals? Are they written, and if so, in what terms (economic, social, etc.)?

c. Content/skills training/services: What does the project contain? What skills are offered? How is the program structured? How long is the program? What services (i.e., marketing, transportation, cooperatives, credit facilities) are available to the participants? What are the products?

d. Participants: Who are they? What socio-economic level are they from? How were they encouraged to participate?

B. Phase Two

After women's income-generating projects were identified through phase one, it was thought necessary to do a more detailed investigation of a sample of these projects. The interviewees in the first phase were mostly government officials and high ranking project staff. The focus of the second phase, however, was to investigate the selected projects in more detail and from the point of view of trainers and extension (field) workers.

1. Research Questions

- Who was involved in the planning process?
- What are the resources available to, and needed by, the project?
- Who are the trainers, field workers, and instructors?
- What is their perception of project needs?
- What is their perception of the problems faced by projects, and their solution?

2. Sample

Of all the projects under the investigation during the first phase, three were selected for a more detailed analysis. These three were: Women's Association, Catholic Church, and Women in Development Projects. Women's Associations represented the locally funded, nationwide type of projects, working with women's groups. The Catholic Church program is, as expected, initiated by the Catholic

Mission, is small in size and dependent on funding from religious organizations. Women in Development Project is the example of the more recent women's income-generating projects found in many other African countries. It is a multi-lateral project and enjoys considerable resources in comparison to some other projects in the country.[2]

Considering the above characteristics, the three selected projects represent the variety of the existing income-generating projects in Swaziland. Eighteen instructors, field workers and project staff from the above three projects were selected and interviewed.

3. Instrumentation

An open-ended questionnaire was constructed to gather the proposed information.[3] It included the following areas:

a. Characteristics of the interviewees including position, duties, and skills
b. Involvement in the planning process
c. Perception of skills popular among participants, and their future training needs
d. Perception of implication of income generation for participants
e. Perception of problems faced by participants
f. Perception of problems faced by interviewees
g. Perception of solutions

4.3 Findings

A. A Background of Women's Income-Generating Network in Swaziland

Based on the above two phases of the research study, the following information was collected about the existing network for women's income generating activities in Swaziland. This network includes women's groups, internationally and locally funded government and non-government projects and programs, as well as service organizations. It includes the following:

1. Women's Groups

There are several women's groups in Swaziland not all of which are concerned with income-generating activities. Some, however, have provided the focus and backbone for the formation of those groups which are presently involved with income-generating work.

a. Zenzele ("do it yourself") is an old voluntary organization of rural women which was established in the early 1950's with the initiative of the domestic science demonstrators of the Ministry of Agriculture. The objectives of this association were to raise the standards of living of rural women and their families through women's involvement in educational and community self help programs. The program, offered through Farmers' Training Centers, focused on home economics and later, to a lesser extent, on handicrafts. Women were contacted individually and helped organize their own group through

which they could share their new skills with others. In order to increase recruitment, husbands at the Farmers' Training Centers were asked to encourage their wives to join the Zenzele groups, also chiefs were contacted to call meetings to invite more participants in the women's groups. Some Zenzele groups later become part of the Women's Associations which will be described later.

b. Zondle ("feed yourself") is a voluntary organization founded in 1968. The aim of this organization has been to assist needy children through feeding programs, opening homes for orphans, as well as promoting child care and nutrition among women. To back up the school feeding program, Zondle women established school gardens in collaboration with extension workers of the Ministry of Agriculture. Although Zondle did not have an income-generating training aspect, its role was important in organizing and mobilizing various groups of women who at a later stage also joined other women's programs.

c. Lutsango ("all embracing") was set up in 1967 with the sanction and encouragement of the king of Swaziland. This women's group is supposed to embrace all Swazi women. However, the active members and organizers are a group of well educated and elite urban women mostly in charge of cultural activities and charity. Lutsango is headed by a female senator and is given the responsibility to act as a National Council for all the women's organizations. Although a few projects have been initiated by this organization, its overall coordinating role has not materialized due to the lack of political and economic power.

d. Women's Associations, one of the three selected projects, is the largest active women's group. It is composed of some original Zenzele groups combined with other newly organized groups. It acts as the women's wing of the Farmers' Association. The major aim of this organization is to raise the living standards in the rural areas through the provision of home economics and income-generating skills. No record is available as to the exact number of the associations and their members. Groups are organized when there is sufficient interest among a number of women who then contact a home economic officer for advice. Sometimes, too, groups get disintegrated due to lack of customers and market outlets for their products.

The group structures vary depending on the interests of the members. Registered members pay a nominal membership fee. The groups meet once or twice a week and are visited by extension workers at regular intervals. Not all the members attend the meetings regularly, and non-members may also participate in the meetings. Training is done, depending on the weather, either in the open air, in a member's house, or a shed if available. In a few instances, men have also formed their own parallel associations. However, their meetings and focus of skills training differ from those of the women.

The leaders in Women's Associations are chosen by vote of the members and include a chairperson, a secretary and a treasurer. It is their responsibility to organize the purchase of bulk raw material (usually to be paid from the membership fees), to send delegates to

training courses, to encourage attendance, to recruit new members and to liaise with the home economic officer. Some groups also assign members to such tasks as transportation and marketing of the products. However, most groups go only as far as buying the raw material together and the members prefer to do the production and marketing on an individual basis.

When the economic condition of the groups permits, modest revolving funds are established to provide the necessary capital for various activities. Members receive the loan in turn and have to return it with little or no interest. The existence of a revolving fund depends on whether or not the group members can afford enough money for contributions. Modest sums of money affordable by most women are usually inadequate for any kind of meaningful investment. This situation gets more alarming when one observes that almost all members are from poor and average income families. Very poor women do not participate in women's groups since it is believed that they lack the necessary capital for embarking on income-generating activities even on a small scale.

The group meetings are both social and educational affairs. Women get together between nine and ten in the morning (after doing household chores), bring their lunch along and go back home late in the afternoon to continue with their housework. At these meetings, women examine each other's progress on the products they work on, seek each other's advice, exchange new ideas and techniques, and if the extension worker is present, seek her advice.

Home economic officers of the Ministry of Agriculture and cooperatives pay the associations regular visits and teach women skills in home making, child care, cooking, sewing, knitting and crocheting. Nutrition education is accompanied by agricultural advice for growing the family food. If groups are interested, extension workers from various other sections of the Ministry of Agriculture are also invited to give seminars covering topics like fish farming, poultry raising, agriculture, cooperative development, bookkeeping, etc. Although women may choose to use these skills for earning money, the income-generating aspect of the women's activities is primarily concentrated on handicrafts produced mostly under the guidance of the handicraft officers of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism. Some of the other money making activities include dressmaking, knitting, batik and tie and dye. The craft items include, among other things, table mats, grinding mats, fruit baskets, sleeping mats, beadwork, claywork, macrame bags and wall hangings.

2. Church Organizations

a. Catholic Church Project

Religious organizations have a number of programs for women. Some are evangelical in nature, others are aimed at educational, social welfare and income-generating activities. One of the programs in the last category is organized by the Catholic Mission. Following

a research in all the parishes in 1980, it was found that many women were in desperate need of skills for self employment. Several centers were, then, set up to train women in a variety of skills including sewing, crafts production, agriculture and poultry raising in order to secure a source of income.

The center in Manzini, which was one of the three projects under the detail study, was established in 1981 and offers sewing lessons to about 20 women a year. Funds are chiefly provided by international religious development organizations. Student contributions pay part of the salary of the few available teachers. Little liaison exists between the efforts of the Catholic Church project and those of the government and other private organizations. The program is presently faced with problems, not so much with regards to funds as with finding experienced and reliable instructors. It is hoped that with further expansion, the project can accommodate the growing demand from the interested women.

3. Other Internationally and Locally Funded Projects

a. Lutsango Vocational Training Center started in 1977 by the Lutsango women in Mbabane as a pilot project. Although the center primarily aims at school leavers, women of all ages are welcome. The objective of the training is to assist women in securing skills for self employment. The course lasts about eight months and includes

religious knowledge, sewing, knitting, crocheting, cooking, handicrafts, culture and domestic science. The center is presently faced by a large number of applicants (both men and women) but due to lack of facilities is unable to admit more than 25 students per year. The Ministry of Education pays the salaries of the two instructors, and the Mennonites contribute to the raw material. Funds are further secured through women's donations, and the sale of the goods produced by the students during their training.

b. Home Economics 8-Month Training Course. The Home Economic Section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, besides its extension activities, has an 8-month training program which was established in 1962. The training is offered at Farmers' Training Centers in three different locations and include the following courses:

1. Home Economics, e.g., nutrition, child care, dress making, handicrafts and financial management;
2. Animal Production, e.g., poultry, dairy farming and fish farming;
3. Plant Production, e.g., horticulture, crop production and grain storage.

The objective of the program is to raise the living standards of the rural women and their families and provide them with possibilities for income generation. The program, further enjoys the assistance of other sections within the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives.

c. Ezulweni Handicraft Training and Development Center. Besides extension work, the Handicraft Section of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism is also involved in a program for training master "craftsmen." The center started its work in 1974 following the signing of an agreement between the Swazi government and Taiwan. The objective of this program is to enhance the quality of handicrafts produced in the country and therefore create employment for the rural people. Several workshops and a showroom are part of the training facilities at the center. The program which caters both for women and men, offers such courses as ceramic, stone carving, fine arts, leathercraft, weaving, sewing and simple tool making.

d. Women in Development Project, as it is commonly referred to today, was approved in May 1975 by the United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development (UNDTCD) and placed under the authority of the Department of Community Development, then part of the Ministry of Local Administration. The main objective of the project during its first phase was to integrate women of the Northern RDA (where this project is located) in the rural development process. To make this possible, it was thought necessary to establish day care centers so that women could, more freely, get involved in economic activities. Furthermore, a village technology unit was designed to provide women with time saving devices for the household. No attempts were made at this stage to initiate income generating activities and the general lack of specific objectives was discouraging to both staff and the women who had been mobilized.

The second phase of the project started in 1977 and after a series of negotiations with the government, the project document was revised to emphasize the income generating activities. Of the possible choices, crafts and home industries were selected since their short term cash returns were thought to be a good incentive for the participants. The production which started in 1978, consists of crochet work, school uniforms, dolls, sisal work, batik, spinning and weaving and tie and dye. Besides production skills training, women are also given occasional lectures in accounting, pricing, costing and marketing. A revolving fund was also established in 1978 to provide groups of women with loans for raw material and equipment. On the whole the project seems popular among the women and is already being expanded into several other parts of the country.

e. Lundzi-Mpuluzi Pig Raising Project was requested by Lutsango women through the National Council of Negro Women and is partly funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The aim of this project is to raise the standard of living among the target group (in the rural areas only) through community education and cooperative pig raising for the market. This project is not in full operation yet.

f. Rural Education Centers. RECs were set up in 1974 with the assistance of the World Bank. The aim was to teach the rural population, especially the school leavers, skills for self employment. The centers cater for both women and men. However, 75 percent of the

total number of participants are women. There are now about 10 RECs, nine of which are attached to secondary schools and one to a primary school. The available facilities are jointly used by adults and school children. Carpentry and metalwork workshops provide training to men, and women take lessons in sewing, knitting, cooking, etc. RECs are under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and coordinate their efforts with the local extension workers from other ministries such as the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health.

g. Small Enterprises Development Company (SEDCO) as briefly described in the section on the informal sector, is part of the Small Enterprises and Handicraft Project which was established in 1970, SEDCO, supported by UNDP, ILO and UNIDO, provides technical and financial assistance to eligible Swazi entrepreneurs. SEDCO's activities are carried out in three different ways: (1) assistance to those who have the skills but lack the means to start production; (2) assistance to those who already have a business but seek help to expand it; and (3) suggesting a line of production to the would-be self-employed people. The training program consists of motivation training, management training, conducting feasibility studies, and project preparation. A UNDP evaluation mission found that by the end of 1977, 85 persons had been trained within, and 22 outside the SEDCO estates, altogether creating gainful employment for 581 persons (UNDP, 1977). Those individuals who settle in SEDCO estates, are expected to

move out upon the completion of their training and open their own businesses.

In 1970, Swazicraft was founded as a private company within the then Ministry of Mines, Industry and Tourism (now also including commerce) as a marketing agency for SEDCO, Swazicraft was, however, closed down in 1975 after a series of financial and management problems and has not been replaced by another similar organization as yet. The present marketing policy within SEDCO consists of giving advice to enterprise owners on issues like pricing, export promotion, distribution, etc. and assisting them to carry out these activities on their own. Therefore, now there exists no real central marketing organization for the small Swazi enterprise owners.

B. Analysis

For the sake of continuity and brevity the results of the findings of the two phases of the research study have been combined and reported under two major headings. These are:

1. Project Level:

a. Goals and Objectives:

There is a clear lack of clarity as far as the goals and objectives of the projects are concerned. The objectives are generally expressed in statements such as "raising the standard of living of the women and/or families," or "providing skills for

securing a source of income." Except in some of the bilateral or multilateral projects, little documentation of the project as a whole, and its goals and objectives in particular exists. However, all projects, including those which are internationally funded, suffer from a lack of clear, quantified, and measurable goals. In some instances, the "welfare" and "income-generating" aspects of the programs offered are so intertwined that disagreements arise among the project staff and field workers as to the objectives of the training programs for certain skills. This lack of clarity, among other things, will have serious implications for assessing the outcomes and degree of success of women's income-generating projects.

b. Content/Services:

The training programs offered by the projects are organized around the two themes of "income-generation" and "welfare." The latter includes such topics as home economics, child care, nutrition and at times "practical" farming, i.e., growing food and raising small animals for home consumption. The income-generating aspect includes such "feminine" skills as weaving, knitting, sewing, crocheting, batik, and tie and dye.

The training and marketing aspects of income-generating activities are separated completely from each other in an overwhelming majority of the projects. Except in the case of two internationally funded income-generating projects, the programs contain only

production skills training with little training in "business" skills, and minimal marketing services. Even when marketing services are part of the proposed project activities, their scope is limited not to all, but certain lines of production. In most cases, women's income-generating projects do not have the expertise and resources to provide marketing services to their participants. In the absence of a central marketing organization, the marketing services provided by many projects are limited to scattered efforts of the staff in contacting potential buyers.

Only in one project, a revolving fund, day care centers, appropriate technology, and cooperative development are all part of the services. Women in some of the Associations have also formed their own limited revolving funds. Although some training is offered in the area of cooperative development, cooperatives seem to be scarce among women producers all over the country.

c. Planning Process

The creation of women's income-generating projects has, undoubtedly, been a response to the pressing economic needs of many women (both urban and rural). The need of women for employment and sources of income is well confirmed by the fact that all income-generating projects have more applicants than they can accommodate. Although this need has strongly been expressed at the grass-root level, those at this level have had little participation in the overall planning of the income generating projects. The trainers and

field workers most closely in contact with the women participants have also had limited involvement in most aspects of the planning process. The area which this group has much input in is the ongoing assessment of the participants training needs. Most projects have a pre-planned training program, however, when possible, the desires of the participants for mastering new skills are accommodated for.

The majority of the projects have not had the resources and expertise to conduct rigorous needs assessment, feasibility studies, marketing research, or evaluations. While informal assessments are occasionally carried out by the staff, no thorough follow up has ever been done on the participants of the projects.

d. Problems

As far as the project difficulties were concerned, the interviewees perceived "transport" as the most important problem. The issue of lack of transportation not only seems to affect the frequency of visits given to women's groups, but makes the procurement of raw material and marketing of the products difficult.

Another equally important issue brought up by the interviewees was the lack of trained staff both in terms of number and the quality of training. The limited capacity of the existing training institutions for trainers was identified as another chief problem and closely related to the felt need for more highly trained trainers and staff.

Lack of coordination among income-generating projects, as well as projects and service organizations (like SEDCO), and between various ministries and the projects was pointed out by the interviewees to result in the duplication of efforts. Many believed that if such coordination existed, a network of resources and expertise could be created to be shared by all those involved in income-generating activities.

In discussing the problems faced by the participants in income-generating projects, the interviewees pointed out that the lack of marketing outlets and capital were two of the most important issues. The scarcity and high prices of the raw material were also perceived to be among other factors hampering the income-generating activities of the women participants.

2. National Level

Many of the issues discussed above are shared by most projects and show a certain pattern in terms of the difficulties faced by income-generating projects. Since this pattern seems to be constant irrespective of the size, resources, and sources of funding, one must look for the sources of the difficulties not within, but outside the projects themselves. In other words, in order to understand the issues in income-generation in Swaziland, one needs to examine the atmosphere within which such activities are carried out.

The present state of income-generating projects is a reflection of the policy of the government of Swaziland towards the rural women's needs for employment. Although efforts have been made to create job opportunities in the rural areas, women have received little share of this attention. Even income-generating activities, one of the very few areas open to women, have suffered from haphazard planning, a direct result of a lack of a clear understanding of the women's needs.

The key issues in women's income-generating projects are the lack of a central coordinating and organizing body. To begin with, the absence of a strong women's organization is the factor that affects the situation of women in general, and those in income-generating activities in particular, most adversely. There is no forum through which women's issues could be voiced or women's interests could be represented at the economic planning body of the government. Income-generating projects are, therefore, designed as piece meal and in most cases only temporary solutions to women's employment needs.

In addition, the mushrooming nature of several small projects, each struggling on their own and duplicating each other's work, not only shows the desire of many women for employment and cash income, but is a sign of the need for a central coordinating body. Such an organization would increase the efficiency of the income-generating projects and facilitate their access to a common pool of expertise and resources.

The issues of credit and marketing was one that came up repeatedly in the discussions held by the interviewees. The majority feel that there is a strong need for a central organization to coordinate the marketing activities of the projects and individual women, as well as facilitate their access to loan and credit facilities. The concensus is that this would be the role of SEDCO.

The present chapter put forward an overview of the income-generating projects in Swaziland and their current state of activities. However, the current chapter presented the issues in income-generating work only from the point of view of those who are involved in such activities as government officials, project staff, or trainers.

In order to look at income-generating work from another perspective, it was also thought necessary to examine the views of the participants as well. The next chapter, therefore, presents the results of interviews conducted with a sample of women who had joined income-generating projects and investigates the social and economic impact of such activities on them.

Notes to Chapter IV

[1]For a sample of this questionnaire see Appendix I, questionnaire No. 1.

[2]The following source has been consulted on the existing income-generating projects in Swaziland: Tabibian, Nasrin, "Directory of Women's Income-Generating Projects in Swaziland," University of Swaziland, April 1983. For more detailed information on the three selected projects see Chapter IV.

[3]See Appendix I for a sample of this questionnaire (No. 2).

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF SWAZI WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES

5.1 Introduction

As was shown in Chapter III, today's rural Swazi households greatly depend on cash income for their substenance. A study of the rural homesteads in Swaziland showed that wage employment and nonagricultural, homestead-based income-generating activities account for 31.89 and 18.83 percent of the total cash income per household, respectively (Guma, 1983). The latter category consists of handicrafts, beer brewing, traditional medicine, and miscellaneous sales. In these activities, women have 80 to 90 percent of the work input.

Swazi women, therefore, have devised their own ways of earning cash. Handicrafts production is one of the most prevalent and least profitable areas of women's activities. Beer brewing, for example, accounts for 5.90 percent of the homestead income as opposed to 3.73 percent for handicraft production. Nevertheless, women continue handicraft production for two reasons: (1) because the skills can readily be learned from mothers, relatives and friends, while the work itself is flexible in terms of time schedule, and needs relatively

simple tools and little capital; and, (2) because there are no other opportunities for learning other "non-feminine" skills.

Income-generating projects in Swaziland, which almost entirely promote "feminine" skills, thus, base their training on an already existing network of traditional peer-training and skills. In the previous chapter, a background on the current income-generating network in Swaziland was presented. While that chapter focused on this network from the point of view of the officials, staff and field workers, the present chapter examines the implications of the income-generating network and its activities on the social and economic aspects of women undertaking these activities.

In this chapter, it is argued that:

1. By limiting the training to the so called "feminine" aspects of women's lives, Income-Generating Projects (IGPs) tend to promote and perpetuate generally low paying, low skilled employment opportunities for rural women.
2. Without the necessary assistance network (such as day care centers, appropriate technology units, marketing and credit facilities), the workload of the participants in IGPs will grow without considerable increase in their income.
3. Women's income does not considerably increase their decision making power within the household and in the community.
4. Income-generating activities are women's major occupation, necessary for the family's survival, and not as generally perceived, a hobby.

5.2 The Study

Since little information was available on the nature and extent of women's involvement in income-generating activities, an exploratory approach was chosen to obtain the proposed data and information. The lack of the baseline data, however, made any causal inferences, and a valid statistical comparison of various groups to each other, impossible.

A combination of qualitative and quantitative data were obtained and these were organized around the research questions the study proposed to answer.

a. Research Questions:

1. What is the extent of women's involvement in income-generating activities?
2. How do these activities affect their daily routines, family expenditure patterns, and the decision-making processes within the household and community?
3. What are the support mechanisms and assistance networks available to these women?
4. What are the problems faced by them? Do these problems differ according to the type of project they have been affiliated with?

b. Sample:

The three projects that had been selected for the study, were representatives of all the existing types of women's income-generating projects in Swaziland. These were:

1. Women's Associations
2. Catholic Church Project
3. Women in Development Project (at Entfonjeni)[1]

Altogether, 290 women were interviewed from the above projects of which 208 were from the Women's Associations, 18 from the Catholic Church, and 64 from the Women in Development project. The process of selecting the interviewees varied from project to project. In case of the Women's Associations, a list was drawn up (with the assistance of the District Officers from the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism) of these Associations. A stratified random sample resulted in one Association from each "zone" or "sub-district" and therefore four Associations per each of the four districts. These were:

Manzini District:
- Mzimnene
- Gebeni
- Bhekinkosi
- Ntondozi

Shiselweni District:
- Makhawelela
- Bethel
- Magubheleni
- Bhokweni

Hhohho District:
- Siphocosini
- Herefords
- Motshane
- Mbuluzi

Lubombo District:
- Sithobela
- Maphatindvuku
- Ndobandoba
- Shewula

All those who were part of these groups were interviewed. It was decided that only those women would be included in the sample who had received at least six months of training. It was assumed that this period would be enough to allow women to develop their skills to such an extent that they could exploit them for income generation. Since no exact statistics are available as to the number of Associations' members (or the exact number of Associations), it would be difficult to estimate the percentage of the participants sampled. However, when an Association was selected, it was made sure that all those participating in the training sessions would be included. The Catholic Mission had, at the same time of the research, only 20 students who had finished their training. All these graduates were included in the sample, however, two could not be contacted despite several efforts. Of the approximately 500 students who had been trained at the Women in Development project, 80 women were selected at random from various years. Of these, 16 could not be traced or contacted.

c. Instrumentation

The questionnaire[2] developed for the purpose of interviewing the participants, was a combination of closed and open-ended questions. It was first developed in English and then refined based on a pretest carried out on ten participants who spoke English well. However, since the majority of women in the sample did not know enough English,

the questionnaire was translated into SiSwati. This helped to make the interviewers' approach uniform and minimize the interviewer bias with regards to personal interpretation and translation of the questions. To further safeguard against the interviewer bias, instructions were included after each question on how it should be administered.

The help of a faculty member in the literature department at the University of Swaziland was sought in the translation of the questionnaire into SiSwati. After it was ready, the questionnaire was administered to 23 women who were the members of a women's Association. This Association had been chosen at random from among those falling outside the original sample, within the Manzini District.

The pretesting of the SiSwati version was carried out with the assistance of 8 university students who had been trained and hired for this purpose. These interviewers were young Swazi men and women with previous practical or theoretical knowledge of field research. Most had previously participated (as interviewers) in a national rural homestead survey. Nevertheless, they all received a two-day training program during which interviewing techniques, the purpose of the study, and the questions in the questionnaires were discussed and try-out interviews performed.

After the pretest was conducted and the results analyzed, several refinements were found to be needed both in terms of the

wording and content of certain questions. The interviewers pointed out that the wording used in some questions was too "literary" and because of that some interviewees had problems responding to those items. The revisions on the wording of the questions was, then, done with the assistance of the interviewers.

Later, during the administration of the final form of the questionnaire, the filled out questionnaires were examined daily for inaccuracies or omissions. The initial amount of time needed for the interview was about 45 minutes. At the later stages, when the interviewers were more familiar with the questions, this time was reduced to about 30 mintues.

As far as the content of the questionnaire was concerned, it was first necessary to make sure that the items were compatible with the social and cultural norms of the interviewees. To do this, several other national questionnaires as well as researchers with long experience of working in the country were consulted and their advice sought on the questionnaire. The experiences of this group proved that the inclusion of young men among the interviewers would not be offending either to the women interviewees or their families. Furthermore, based on the researchers' advice, the chiefs in designated areas were contacted and their permission sought before any groups of women were approached.

During the pretest it was found out that some of the interviewers were not involved any more in generating income through

the skills they had been trained in. Although it was of interest to know the percentage of this group and the reason why they had stopped working, it would be unnecessary and inappropriate to administer the whole questionnaire to these interviewees. The first five items were, then, designed to identify this group of women.

After these five items, the rest of the questionnaire was only administered to those who were "active" in using their income-generating skills. The next five items dealt with the type, degree of proficiency and sources of the "skills" women had learned through the traditional network (i.e., family, relatives or friends) and later through the projects they joined. A list of skills was drawn up with the assistance of three trainers working at the three projects under the study.

The next two items were designed for two purposes. First, to elicit detailed information on the costs, time needed for and the amount of production, as well as sales volume prior to and after receiving training at one of the projects. Secondly, these questions were designed to check the reliability of two later questions regarding the amount of income from income-generating activities before and after joining the projects. This measure, however, proved ineffective since many interviewees could not recall the details of production and sales either for present or past activities. The idea of comparing the present and past levels of income (i.e., income prior to and after receiving training) was, therefore, abandoned. The

estimates of the present income, moreover, was taken to be "gross" since the overwhelming majority of women did not keep books on their production and sales expenses.

In order to ensure the reliability of the data on "time allocated to income-generating work," several categories and possible time frames were offered. This item required the recording of the number of hours per day, number of days per week and the number of months per year women spent on income-generating work. As a last resort, and in case such detailed information could not be provided, a category recording the average number of hours of work per month was included. The aim of providing several options was to ensure that at least one category would be answered and that by combining several responses of one person, the reliability of the final outcome would be increased. In general, however, the classification of time allocation based on the intensity of work on the farm, was not possible.

The section on "assistance network" included items on the primary person(s) responsible for providing services at various stages of production and sales. The items on "marketing and transportation" were designed to collect information on the amount of time and money that the interviewees invested in such activities. Issues pertaining to the knowledge of and problems in applying for "loan and credit facilities" were included in five questions under the same title. The final portion of the questionnaire dealt with "demographic data."

d. Constraints

The major constraint in the study was the language barrier which made the communication with the project participants difficult and dependent on an interpretor. The other problems was concerning the lack of documentation. Except for Women in Development Project, the other two did not have a written record of their participants or Associations (in the case of Women's Associations).

In case of the Catholic Church project, a list was readily drawn up with the assistance of the project head who also informed the participants of the scheduled interviews. This group was invited to the project site for interviewing, however, as mentioned earlier, two could not be contacted despite repeated efforts.

The sample for the Associations had to be drawn twice for one of the districts since it was found out that the initial list for that district only included what the officer termed "strong" Associations. Moreover, one of the Associations located near the northern border of the country had dissolved since women found their incomes from handicraft production too low and mostly had turned to selling food or consumer goods across the border. Another Association was chosen at random to replace this Association whose members had been scattered.

In order to save time, and since the participants in Women in Development project were from various parts of the country, invitations were sent out to those selected as interviewees to attend one of the meetings organized on three different days. Despite the

travel expenses which were offered as incentives to cover the costs the women may have, few showed up. Many had to be traced on an individual basis which, despite the direct assistance of one of the project staff, proved to be a most difficult job. Altogether, 16 women could not be contacted and interviewed for a variety of reasons. The majority had moved and no forwarding addresses were available, some were trading in the Republic of South Africa and were not available at the time of the research; a few were living in areas only accessible by four-wheel drive. A further problem was that the above mentioned project staff, as was later found, was also responsible for collection of loan installments made to the participants by the project!

It was, further, found that the respondents were not as a rule precise about the length of time spent on and the frequency and amount of production. Few knew details of their sale and expenses and therefore the detailed questions, which had been designed for this purpose and also as a check on the total amount of income offered by the interviewee, did not serve their purpose. That is why the figures offered as the women's income should be interpreted as gross rather than net income.

5.3 Findings and Analysis[3]

5.3.1 Active versus non-active interviewees

As mentioned in the methodology section, the total sample consisted of 290 women who had received training in income-generating skills in one of the three projects under the study: Women in Development Project, Catholic Church Project, and Women's Associations. It was found that of all those interviewed, 45 (or 16 percent) were not using their acquired skills for generating income, i.e., they were "non-active." The rest, however, are considered "active" since they utilize their skills and are "own account" workers.

Table 5.3.1.1.

Active Versus Non-active Interviewees

Project	Total No. of Interviewees	Active N	Active %	Non-Active N	Non-Active %
1. Women in Development	64	42	65.6	22	34.4
2. Catholic Church	18	14	77.8	4	22.2
3. Women's Associations	208	189	90.9	19	9.1
TOTAL	290	245	84.0	45	16.0

The higher percentage of "non-active" interviewees in Women in Development Project should not, however, be solely interpreted as a

sign of failure of this project when compared to the other two. This project also has the most complete administrative and recordkeeping system of all the three programs under the study. Therefore, all the participants can easily be identified and tracked down for interviews. By contrast, not all the Women's Associations keep complete records of their members and members who drop out or Associations that dissolve, may not be identified easily.

The major reason for discontinuing work (given by about 37.8 percent of the "non-actives"), was an inadequate number of buyers and low sales profit accruing to them (Table 5.3.1.2). Another important reason is lack of the initial capital for starting a business which accounts for a further 28.9 percent of those who have stopped using their skills.

Table 5.3.1.2.

Reasons for Not Using Income-generating Skills Among "Non-actives" (%)

Reasons	Women in Development	Catholic Church	Women's Association	Total Average
No buyers/ little profit	31.8	25.0	47.4	37.8
Lack of Capital	31.8	75.0	15.8	28.9
Lack of Time	18.2	--	5.3	11.1
Other Reasons	18.2	--	31.5	22.2
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Even those who do have some initial capital, may not be able to work for long. Their limited funds are usually invested in the raw material and for many, continuation of their work seriously depends on whether or not they manage to sell their products.

Another 11.1 percent stated that their other responsibilities were too time consuming to leave any room for income-generating activities.

Problems with transportation, and scarcity as well as the high price of raw material are among other reasons mentioned by this group. As will be shown in the following sections, these problems are also shared by the "active" interviewees. The interpretation of the above-mentioned problems will, therefore, be combined with those for the "active" respondents, appearing in Section 5.3.9.

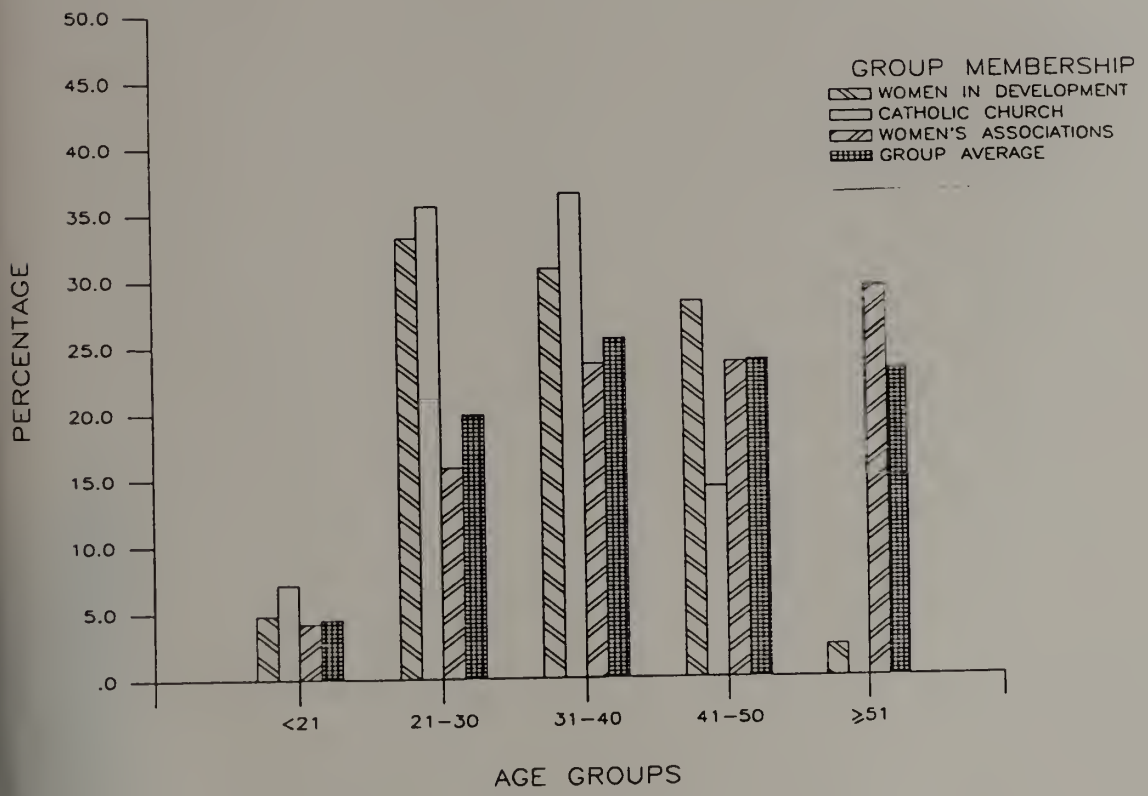
From this point on in this chapter, unless otherwise mentioned, all the discussions and statistics will focus only on the active interviewees.

5.3.2. Sample Profile: Who are the women involved in income generating activities?

a. Age. -- The pattern of the age distribution among those in the sample indicates the relative absence of women below the age of 21. Like other income-generating projects, younger women seem to take

little part in this area of skills training. The reasons could be seen in their higher education and consequently higher expectations, as well as their responsibilities towards very young children. As the following graph shows, only 4.5 percent of the participants are less than 21 years of age. The rest are evenly distributed among various age groups.

Figure 5.3.2.1. Age Distribution (%)



b. Education -- As Table 5.3.2.1 shows, about one out of every five women has had no schooling. In comparison to the results of 1976 census which showed an illiteracy rate of about 70 percent for the adult population (15 years and over), the illiteracy rate of less than 20 percent seems surprisingly small. This may indicate that on the one hand, women's level of education is on the increase, and on the other, that despite the IGPs claim to reach the most disadvantaged segments of the society, many illiterate women have not had access to their skills training programs.

The data, further, show that 33.9 percent of the participants have received literacy training, or have finished all or part of the first two years of primary school. However, only 20 percent of the participants have made it to high school. Although women's level of education may be increasing in general terms, the concentration of 81.7 percent of the participants at primary school level or below, would be a limiting factor in their access to more gainful and permanent jobs.

c. Marital Status -- The statistics on the marital status of the women in the sample as indicated in Table 5.3.2.2, showed that about 25 percent of them were classified as single, widowed, divorced, or separated, i.e., with potential for heading their own households.

Table 5.3.2.1

Level of Education (%)

Level of Education	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Association	Total average	Cumulative total average
No schooling	9.5	7.1	22.2	19.2	19.2
Sebenta or up to grade two	11.9	14.3	15.3	14.7	33.9
Standard one to five	47.6	28.6	49.2	47.8	81.7
Form one to three	26.2	21.4	10.1	13.4	95.1
Forms four and five	4.8	14.3	--	1.6	96.7
No response	--	14.3	3.2	3.3	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.3.2.2

Marital Status (%)

Status	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Association	Total Average
Married	71.4	64.3	73.5	72.7
Divorced/ Separated	2.4	--	4.8	4.0
Widowed	7.1	--	15.9	13.5
Single	16.7	21.4	3.7	6.9
No response	2.4	14.3	2.1	2.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

d. Head of Household[4] -- It was found that 17.6 percent of the interviewees considered themselves heads of households while an additional 5.3 percent lived in households headed by a woman other than themselves. The higher percentage of women headed households in the sample, as compared to the national average of 21.3 percent, is an indication of the financial needs as well as the choices and opportunities available to this group of women.

Table 5.3.2.3

Head of Household (%)

	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Association	Total Average
Interviewee	16.7	7.1	18.5	17.6
A female relative	11.9	7.1	3.1	5.3
Husband	54.8	50.0	57.1	56.3
A male relative	11.8	7.1	15.9	14.7
No response	4.8	28.7	5.4	6.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

e. Number of Children -- As Table 5.3.2.4 indicates, about 62 percent of the women have four or more (with the highest percentage among the Women's Associations) and 22.4 percent have seven or more children.

Table 5.3.2.4

Number of Children (%)

Number of Children	Women in Development	Catholic Church	Women's Association	Total Average	Cumulative Average
0	4.8	14.3	6.9	6.9	6.9
1-3	40.5	50.0	27.5	31.0	37.9
4-6	28.6	14.3	42.9	38.8	76.7
7 or more	26.1	21.4	21.6	22.4	99.1
No response	--	--	1.1	0.9	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

f. Economic Status. -- The assessment of the economic status of the participant would not be possible without the close examination and measurement of the degree to which each of her family members was involved in economic activities. It was therefore decided to use the judgment of the project staff and extension workers closely working with the women in the sample. The staff who knew the women individually, were asked to divide the project participants into one of the categories of very poor, poor, average, and above average, based on their knowledge of the economic level of the participants.

It was found that nearly all those in the sample were from "poor" or "average" income families. Few were categorized as "above average" and no one was considered "very poor." The general consensus was that very poor women were not participating in any of the three projects since they lacked working capital.

A rank-order correlation technique was used to examine the correlation among the demographic variables. Table 5.3.2.5 shows the significant but weak correlations among the variables age, education, and number of children women have.

Table 5.3.2.5

Correlations Among Demographic Variables

Correlations	Spearman's Rho	Level of Significance
Age with education	-.32	.001
Age with number of children	.20	.001
Education with number of children	-.10	.067

5.3.3 Skills Training

Traditionally, girls learn some handicraft skills at home. Perhaps it would not be unreasonable to conclude that most Swazi women know at least one craft before they ever receive any formal training. However, the level of their skills may or may not enable most of them to produce saleable items.

The network of family, relatives and friends provides the best means for dissemination of such knowledge as weaving, knitting, beer brewing, farming, and the like. Of all those interviewed, 48.2 percent had learned some skills from their mothers. At the same time,

other family members and relatives play an important role in spreading the know-how (30.2 percent). Peer learning, also, contributes greatly to the spread of new skills and advancement of the old ones. Although the level of knowledge of these skills is low, women's incomes from these sources have been a permanent feature of the families' cash income. Figure 5.3.3.2 shows the degree of knowledge of women of various skills learned through the "traditional" network of family and friends.

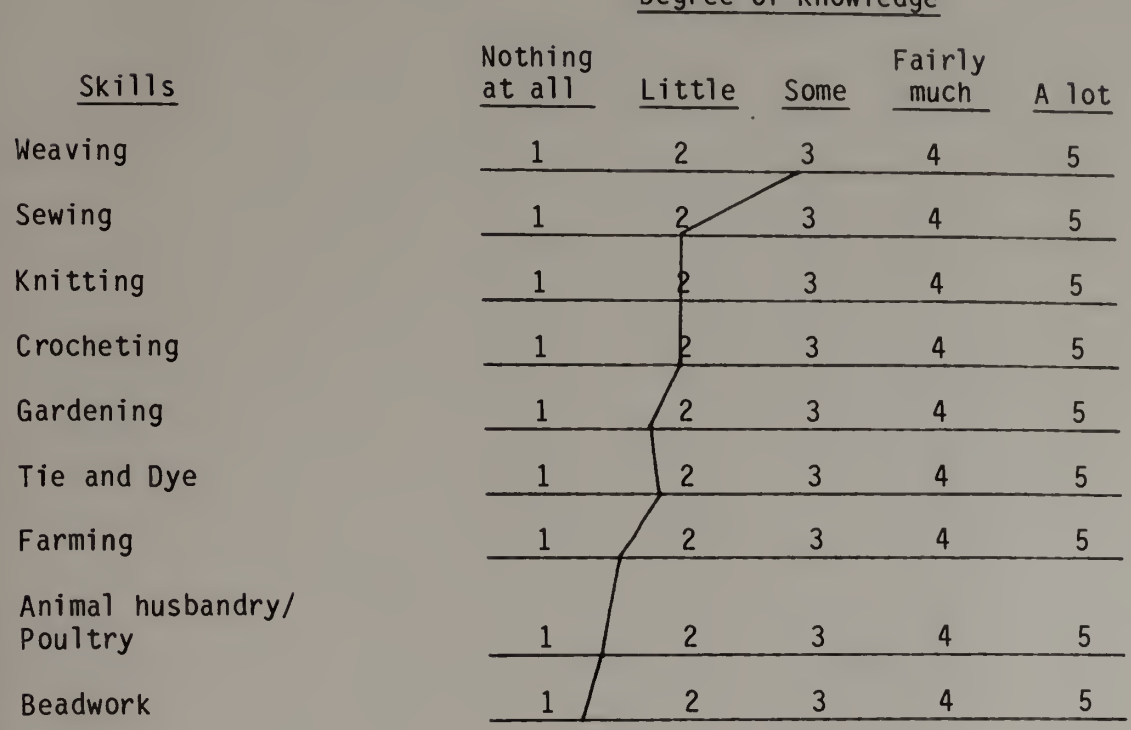
Figure 5.3.3.2. Degree of knowledge of major skills known before receiving training at one of the three projects.

	Degree of Knowledge				
Skills	Nothing at all	Little	Some	Fairly much	A lot
Weaving	1	2	3	4	5
Farming	1	2	3	4	5
Crocheting	1	2	3	4	5
Knitting	1	2	3	4	5
Animal husbandry/ Poultry	1	2	3	4	5
Beadwork	1	2	3	4	5
Beer Brewing	1	2	3	4	5
Gardening	1	2	3	4	5
Sewing	1	2	3	4	5
Pottery	1	2	3	4	5

As the above figure indicates, handicraft skills are in majority, however, animal husbandry/poultry, and especially farming, are also important features of the skills that women learn through the traditional network. With the increasing amount of food imports, especially maize, and the prevalence of malnutrition, one would expect to see income-generating projects to enhance women's agricultural skills. However, it is not so.

A comparison of Figures 5.3.3.2 and 5.3.3.3 shows a clear bias towards "nonagricultural" skills in IGPs. An examination of the levels of skills taught by the projects indicates that farming, animal husbandry and raising poultry are receiving much less attention than handicraft skills. Although some attention is paid to growing vegetables (primarily for home consumption), one should not forget that gardening, unlike farming or animal husbandry is considered by planners to be a "feminine" skill. The trend of skills emphasized by income-generating projects, therefore, shows a movement away from viable agricultural-related skills (which makes sense not only in terms of a more reliable source of cash income, but from the point of view of nutrition), and towards nonviable handicrafts skills with low pay, unstable market and unclear future.

Figure 5.3.3.3. Degree of knowledge of skills learned at one of the three projects.



5.3.4. Work Pattern

As was shown in the previous chapter, Swazi women have a multitude of responsibilities in the house and on the farm. Despite this heavy workload, women have always attempted to contribute to the family's cash income through various income-generating activities.

Table 5.3.4.1

Amount of Time Spent on Income-Generating Work

Name of Program	Hours Per Month	Hours Per Day
1. Women in Development	123.7	4.12
2. Catholic Mission	130.3	4.34
3. Women's Associations	119.6	3.99
Average	124.5	4.03

Looking at the above figures, one has to bear several points in mind. First, considering their roles in the family, on the farm and in income-generating activities, rural women generally have much longer working days than those who have jobs in the formal employment sector. They usually rise at 4:00 or 5:00 in the morning and work until a few hours after dinner which is usually eaten around 8:00 p.m. Therefore, in a 17 or 18 hour working day it is not inconceivable for a woman to spend on the average about four hours on income-generating work. The amount of daily work varies with the season and the amount of work on the farm.

Secondly, many women combine their income-generating work, especially the handicraft, with other responsibilities at home. It is not uncommon for the women to sew or knit while cooking or work on a grass mat whilst minding the children. A common sight in Swaziland is women crocheting or knitting whilst waiting for and traveling on the

buses. One could argue that at least part of the time used by these women for generating income is what would generally be "wasted" by most other people.

The study shows that women work on average 124.5 hours per month or equivalent of three-fourths of a full-time job in the employment sector. This is in addition to the time they have to spend on their "domestic" and farming responsibilities. As will be shown later, women's income-generating activities consists of a complete chain including not only production, but transportation and marketing. The degree of involvement of women in income-generating activities, therefore, is an indication that they have chosen this field of work as "occupations" and not merely as "hobbies." Moreover, the amount of time they invest in this occupation shows the degree of women's economic needs and necessitates the full attention of the concerned officials to the improvement of their working conditions.

The majority of the women, i.e., 80.8 percent, work at home while only 2.4 percent have a rented workshop. Of the total sample, only six women (2.4 percent) have employees, half of whom are relatives and family members. Of the six employers, five have 1 to 4 employees, while only one has more than seven people working for her.

The necessity of and aspiration towards earning more cash income usually become a burden on an already heavy schedule. In order to find time for income-generating skills, many women have to decrease the amount of time they spend on other activities. About 70 percent,

however, find it much "easier" to cut down on their resting time since it would disrupt the household routines the least. This choice is, partly, a reflection of men's attitude towards women's involvement in income-generating activities and, partly, a sign of division of labor within the household. Although some men may view their wife's financial independence as a threat to their authority, the majority welcome the additional income. However, women's involvement in income generating activities are more tolerated by men when as it does not interfere with women's chores at home.

Table 5.3.4.2

The Major Tasks Women Have to Spend Less Time on in Order to Engage in Income-Generating Activities (%)

Activities	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Association	Total Average
Resting	71.4	85.7	68.8	70.2
Washing Clothes	38.1	42.9	24.3	27.8
Collecting Fuel	31.0	21.4	22.2	23.7
Taking Care of Children	23.8	57.1	19.6	22.4
Cooking	11.9	35.7	16.4	16.7
Working on the Farm	11.9	21.4	13.8	13.9
Going to Clinic	7.1	28.6	13.2	13.1
Fetching Water	11.9	21.4	12.2	12.7
Vegetable Growing	11.9	28.6	10.6	11.8

The type of activities that women choose to spend less time on differ widely from project to project. The participants in the Catholic Church program seem to be on average less involved in agriculture than the other two groups. About 57 percent of them are not involved in agriculture at all, as opposed to 2.6 percent of those in Women's Associations and 14.3 percent of those in the Women in Development project. Comparatively, the Catholic Church women have also cut down on their "vegetable growing" more than the other two groups. A chi-square test showed that a significant relationship exists between the type of project and whether or not women had decreased the amount of time they spend on farming.

Variable	Chi-square Value	Degree of Freedom	Level of Significance
Project type with decrease in farm work	59.96	4	0.0000

5.3.5. Income

The question on income was a problematic issue. Some women were reluctant to disclose the amount of their income while others could not come up with an accurate estimate of their earnings. Only a small percentage of the women have bookkeeping skills and keep the accounts of their expenses. The disclosed income should, therefore, be viewed as an estimate of the gross income and not as net profit. In order to check the reliability of the income estimates, a question was designed to record monthly levels of production, expenses, sales volume, and

Figure 5.3.5.1. Income

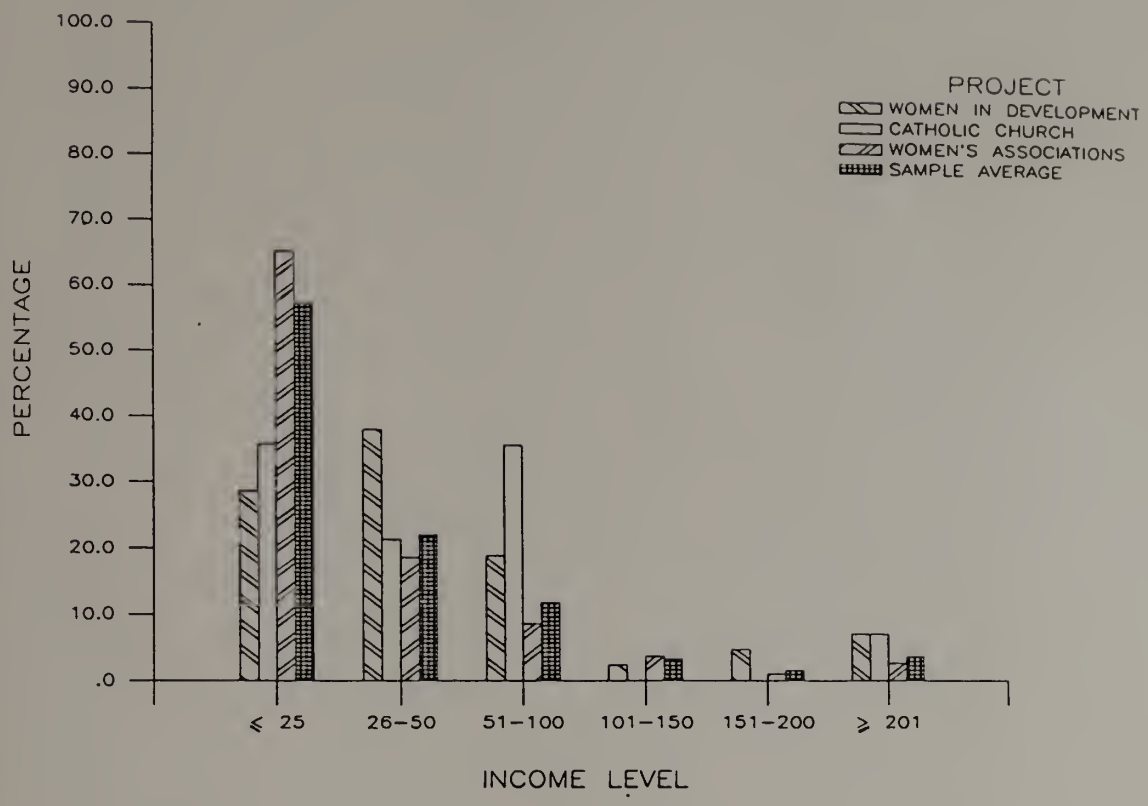
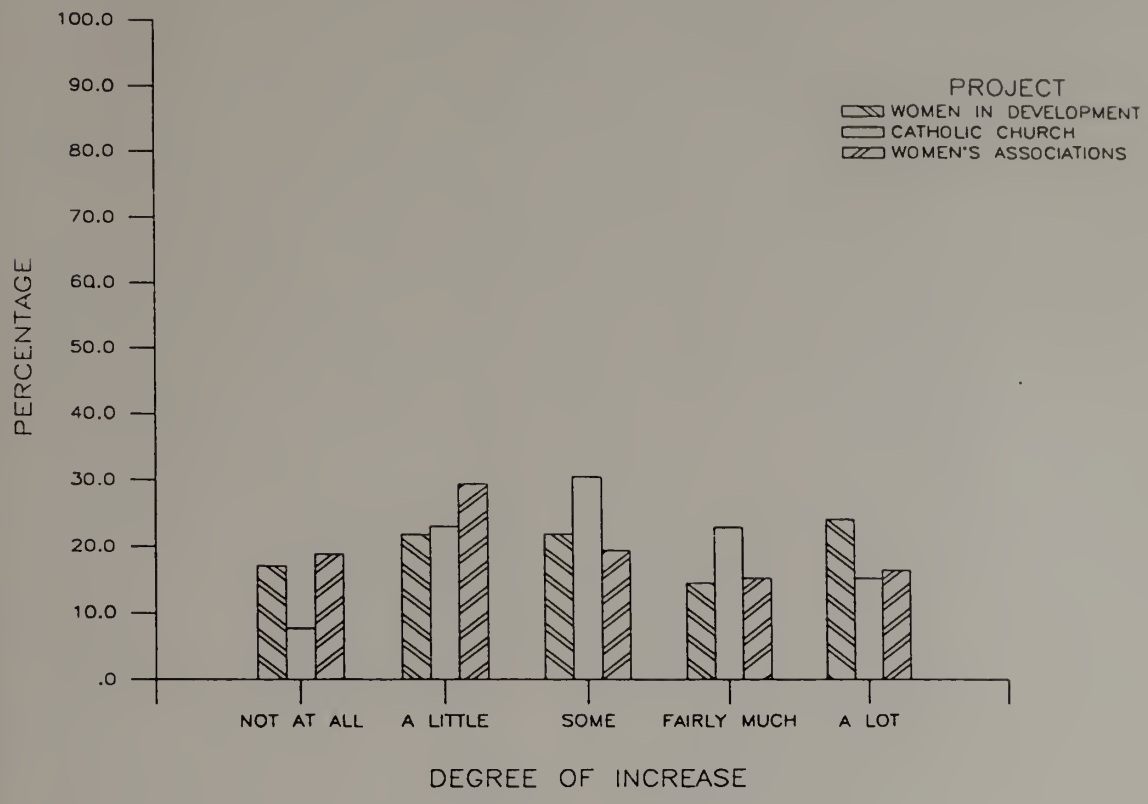


Figure 5.3.5.2. Perception of increase in income after training.



amount of time spent on each product. However, few women could provide all the details accurately.

Great variations exist in the income levels among the project participants. On the average, 57.2 percent of all the women have an income of 25 Emalageni[5] or less per month while an additional 22.2 percent earn up to 50 Emalangeni. Only 3.7 percent have a monthly income of more than E.200. A comparison of the projects show that the percentage of women in the lowest income category in Women in Development Project is almost half of that in the Women's Associations.

Since many women had been involved in income-generating activities even prior to being trained in one of the three projects under the study, it was of interest to know to what extent this training had increased their income. Little less than 46 percent stated that their income had increased only "a little" or "not at all." As Figure 5.3.5.2 shows, great variations were observed among the projects.

A chi-square test showed that there was a significant relationship between the level of income and the following variables: Project type, marital status, and education.

Variables	Chi-square Value	Degrees of Freedom	Level of Significance
level of income with...			
- project type	31.35	10	0.005
- marital status	24.62	15	0.0553
- education	58.57	35	0.0075

No significant correlation was detected between the monthly income and amount of time spent on income-generating activities. Likewise, the length of involvement with one of the three income-generating projects had no significant correlation with the amount of income. A rank order correlation between the income levels and various variables resulted in the following:

Level of income with...	Spearman's Rho	Level of Significance
-Perception of increase in income	.25	.001
-Perception of increase in decision making power within the household	.18	.003
-Perception of increase in decision making power within the community	.10	.060
-Knowledge of loan and credit	.10	.069
-Age	-.16	.007
-Education	.27	.001
-Number of children	.02	.382

5.3.6. Expenditure Pattern

The main purpose for women from receiving training is to secure a source of cash income to improve the family budget. Food, clothing and children's school fees are the three major items which women's income is spent on.

Table 5.3.6.1

Major Items Which Women's Income Is Spent On

Expenditure	Percent of Total Interviewees
Food	67.5
Clothing	64.3
Children's School Fee	60.2
Raw Material for Own Work	34.6
Health Care	20.7

In order to compare the expenditure pattern of various income levels, the women were divided into three income categories of low (≤E25), medium (26-100), and high (more than 100). Food, clothing and children's school fees remain the three most important items on the expenditure list for all the three groups, however, their ranking differs from one income level to another.

Table 5.3.6.1

Expenditure Pattern Per Income Category (%)

	Level of Income		
Expenditure	Low ≤25*	Medium 26-100*	High >100*
children's school fees	60.2	62.2	54.8
food	72.5	64.6	57.1
healthcare	20.8	19.8	21.4
clothing	68.3	65.0	50.0
recreation	2.5	10.0	9.8
raw material for own work	32.5	39.0	31.0
housing	15.0	14.8	15.4
renting workshop	2.6	--	5.4
paying debts	4.2	7.4	17.1
saving	10.8	14.8	23.8

*Emalangeni

Investigations were also made into the responsibility pattern for certain household expenses. Women were asked to identify the person(s) responsible for expenditure on certain items. The responses were recorded for two time periods: one prior to the training and one after the training. The results in Table 5.3.6.2 indicate that while women's responsibility for certain household expenses had increased, that of the men had decreased. At the same time it appears that the percentage of couples who share the expenses is on the rise.

Table 5.3.6.3

Changes in Responsibility Towards Certain Family Expenses
Before and After Women Participated in one of the Three Projects

	Woman alone		Husband alone		Woman and Husband	
Expenses	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Food	15.1	32.6	67.5	23.2	7.5	33.0
Clothing	24.6	45.7	55.5	13.2	9.3	32.9
Children's School Fees	16.6	31.3	67.3	31.3	5.1	28.1
Raw Material for Work	35.9	53.9	43.6	10.8	11.4	28.0
Health Care	17.1	33.7	64.4	24.2	7.9	30.8
Recreation	28.1	44.8	53.6	15.3	7.8	31.3

5.3.7. Decision-Making

It was found that 86.3 percent of women decide on their own what their income should be spent on. Another 8.6 percent make the decision in collaboration with their husband or a male head of the household. Only 5.1 percent of the women have mentioned that men determine how their income should be spent.

Women were asked to comment on the degree to which their influence on the decisions made within the household and in the community has been affected by the change in their economic status.

Figure 5.3.7.1 indicates that about half of the respondents think their income has had no or comparatively little effect on increasing their input into decisions pertaining to the household. Furthermore, Figure 5.3.7.2 indicates that women think their role as the contributor to the household budget has had even less effect on their decision making power in the Community. Of all the respondents, 73 percent believe that their income has had no or comparatively little effect on their influence on the decisions made within the community. It was found that the women's perception of the increase in their decision making power within the household and community had a low positive correlation (Spearman's Rho = .34, significant at .001 level).

Figure 5.3.7.1. Women's perception of the increase in their decision making power within the household (%).

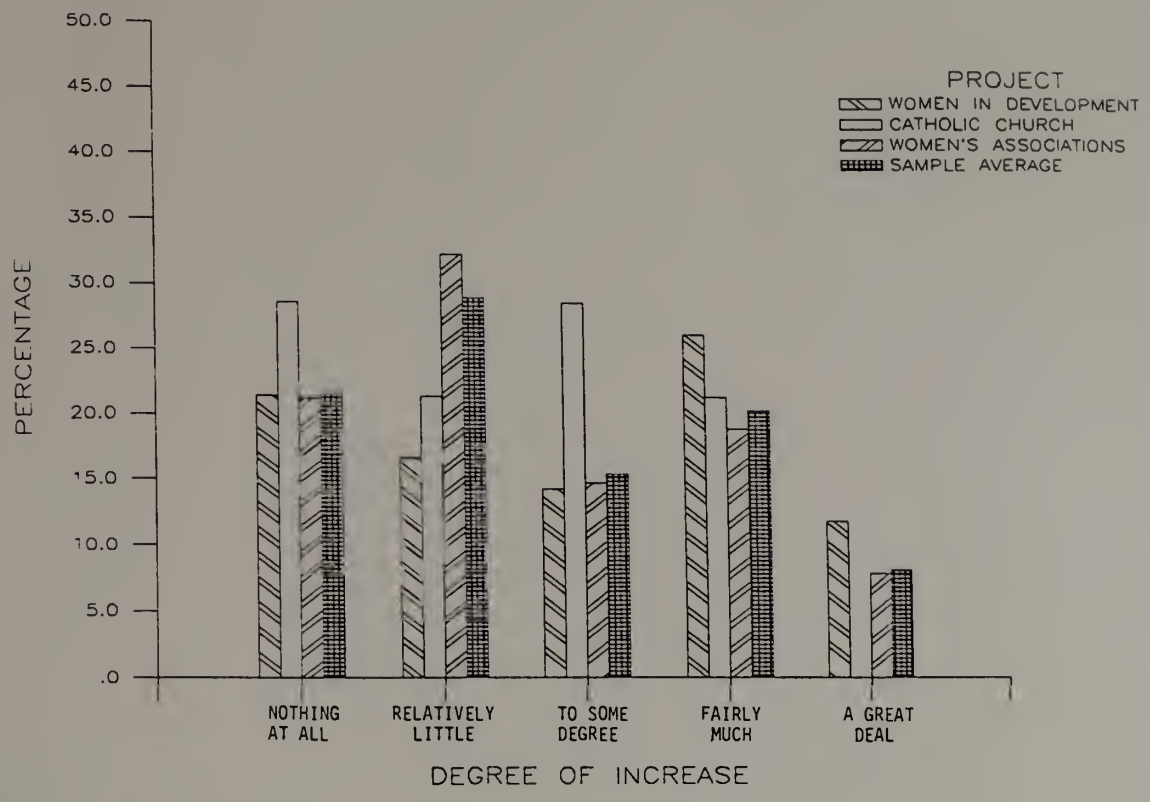
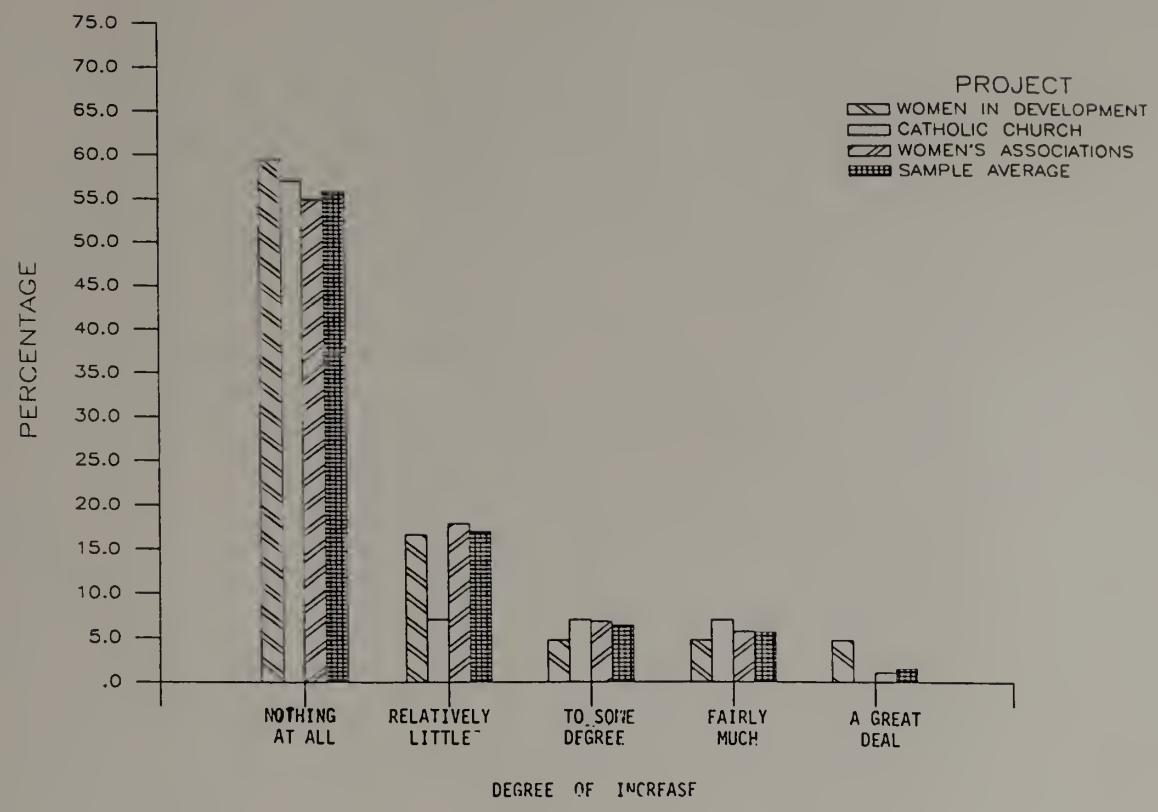


Figure 5.3.7.2. Women's perception of the increase in their decision making power within the community (%).



In short, women do not perceive their income as a major contributing factor in increasing their decision-making power. In order to get a clearer picture of the decision-making pattern within the household, the interviewees were asked to identify the person responsible for certain household decisions (Table 5.3.7.1). As a point of comparison, the respondents were asked the questions for two time periods: before and after they received training.

Interestingly enough, a clear change was observed towards a higher level of inclusion of women in the decision-making process within the household. The data, in fact, show a definite trend towards women making more decisions than before, both on their own and together with their husbands.

Examining Table 5.3.7.1, one observes certain patterns. For example, the man seems to be the main person responsible for deciding if and where the family should move. The question of family planning seems to be decided by no one. As one interviewee stated, "children are God given."

Table 5.3.7.1

Women's Perception of Change in the Decision Making Pattern Before and After Receiving Training

Decisions	Person(s) Mostly Responsible (%)					
	Woman alone		Husband alone		Woman and husband together	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
School for children	25.8	36.6	40.8	24.4	13.3	21.4
Children should drop out of school	20.0	30.1	25.5	13.0	23.8	25.9
Disciplining children	39.5	44.6	12.2	7.4	32.4	35.1
What to plant in the farm	21.9	28.8	32.2	25.9	27.3	29.6
What livestock to raise	21.3	26.9	33.1	27.7	30.5	30.2
What to plant in the vegetable garden	35.7	44.0	15.4	10.2	18.1	19.1
How many children to have*	3.7	5.4	11.2	11.7	4.6	5.0
Move to a different area	11.6	13.1	53.4	50.7	5.6	5.2
To buy something major for the family	44.0	50.6	17.3	11.0	23.9	27.8

*The majority stated that no one decided about the number of children.

5.3.8. Sources of Assistance

a. Group Work and Cooperatives

In general, little attention is paid to the formation of cooperatives among the women attached to the projects. Women, themselves, seem to have been influenced by the negative experience of some of the small farmers (their menfolk) with Farmers' Cooperatives. Extension workers generally state that the women they work with, prefer to do their income-generating work independently. Women's Associations and members of Women in Development Project receive occasional seminars on cooperative development and functions.

Cooperative work among the members of Women's Associations manifest itself in several forms. As mentioned earlier, in some Associations the membership fees are used for buying the raw material collectively. At times when there is an order for certain items, women join forces and, together, produce the necessary quantity needed. However, after the order is delivered, women generally, resume working individually. Due to lack of organization, the group, sometimes, fails to finish the products on time and the buyer does not return for another order. In one Association, some women have collectively acquired a piece of land from the Chief in the area, and have planted cotton. From the proceeds of the cotton field, they bought fertilizer which was sold to the local farmers. This group plans to buy a tractor and set up a vegetable garden too.

In order to further encourage group work, women are encouraged to first form "interest groups" and then apply to the Women in

Development's revolving fund collectively. An example of a successful marketing cooperative is the Women in Development's SUKUMANI BOMAKE Store in Pigg's Peak. This cooperative has about 13 members, half of whom are the instructors at the project. Although many members of the Women in Development project produce school uniforms for which they do not need to use this marketing cooperative, it is surprising that more women have not joined this scheme.

A few participants at the Catholic Church project have joined forces in renting space and setting up a tailor shop. In general, however, the limited number of cooperatives among women involved in income-generating work may be a reflection of the overall lack of confidence in cooperatives in the rural area and consequently result in the women preferring to work individually. The study, further, showed that only 6 women (2.4 percent) belonged to a Farmers' Cooperative.

b. Purchase of Raw Material

Women have devised various strategies for buying and transporting the raw material necessary for their work. As mentioned before, some Women's Associations use their membership fees to buy the raw material (especially sisal) collectively. The material is then transported and delivered either by one member of the Association, or the handicraft officers working with the group. This is, however, not a practice adopted by all the women, some of whom resort to buying their material at retail stores and at high prices. As the following

Table 5.3.8.1

Person Responsible for Purchasing Raw Material (%)

Person Responsible	Before Receiving Training			After Receiving Training		
	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Associations	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Associations
1. Interviewee	35.7	15.4	45.5	61.0	41.7	70.5
2. Family/Relative	59.5	69.2	53.4	29.3	33.3	20.8
3. Women Worked With	2.4	7.7	0.6	--	--	5.5
4. Other Coop. Members	2.4	7.7	0.6	2.4	--	0.5
5. Project Staff	--	--	--	7.3	25.0	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

table shows, family members and relatives used to be a major source of assistance, but as the study reveals, their input has decreased dramatically.

While the great majority of women purchase their material in the few big towns in the country, a little less than 5 percent travel to the Republic of South Africa for this purpose. The majority of the latter group make one trip a month, each trip costing on average 16.90 Emalangeni (transport costs) and taking on average 19.40 hours in terms of time spent on traveling and purchasing the material. Over two-thirds of those who buy their material within the country, take on average one trip a month to the major urban centers. Each trip, on average, costs 2.30 Emalamgeni and takes 3.58 hours.

The attitude of the women towards the raw material is that it is hard to find and expensive to buy. A certain kind of paint needed for printing fabric can only be found in the Republic of South Africa. Moreover, various fibers and grasses utilized in mats and baskets are not readily available in all parts of Swaziland or all throughout the year. Some potters also complain about the quality of the clay they have to work with.

c. Marketing and Transporting Products

In the absence of a central network for marketing and transporting the products, women have devised three non-exclusive systems. Some women have made arrangement with the buyers who personally stop at the producers' house and pick up their orders;

others, go from door to door in the area near their home and sell products. These two groups, therefore, operate either partially or entirely in the rural areas.

The second category consists of marketing in the urban and business centers within the country, especially in Mbabane, the capital and Manzini, the commercial center. Many women make weekly trips to the big towns to sell their products during market day. The third category includes those who travel to the Republic to seek buyers.

Irrespective of the type of market women seek, the major responsibility for the marketing and transportation of goods and products is on their own shoulders. After participating in income generating projects, they have received some assistance also from the project staff. At the Women in Development Project, for example, negotiations with the headmasters of the nearby schools, have provided some women with the opportunity to sew the school uniforms. At the time when this research study was carried out, about 27 schools were buying their uniforms from the groups of women producers rather than importing them from the Republic.

The staff at the Catholic Church make arrangements for displaying products at some shops whenever possible. Orders for handicrafts received at the Tourist Office and the Handicraft Office of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism are relayed to the Associations and picked up when completed. However, these channels

Table 5.3.8.2

Person Responsible for Marketing (%)

Person Responsible	Before Receiving Training			After Receiving Training		
	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Associations	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Associations
1. Interviewee	69.2	46.2	71.3	57.5	83.3	65.8
2. Family/Relative	25.6	46.2	24.1	17.5	--	10.7
3. Women Worked With	5.2	7.6	2.3	15.0	--	10.6
4. Other Coop. Members	--	--	2.3	--	--	1.1
5. Project Staff	--	--	--	10.0	16.7	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.3.8.3

Person Responsible for Transportation of Products (%)

Person Responsible	Before Receiving Training			After Receiving Training		
	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Associations	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Associations
1. Interviewee	70.7	69.2	72.3	62.5	91.7	73.1
2. Family/Relative	26.8	30.8	23.1	17.5	--	9.3
3. Women Worked With	2.5	--	2.3	12.5	--	11.0
4. Other Coop. Members	--	--	2.3	--	--	1.1
5. Project Staff	--	--	--	7.5	8.3	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

About 85 percent of the women take 1 to 3 trips per month to the market place within the country. They, on the average, invest 5.7 hours (Standard Deviation: 7.6) and 2.7 Emalangeni (Standard Deviation: 5.6) in each trip. Only about 9 percent take regular trips to the markets in the Republic of South Africa. Of these, 77.8 percent take one trip per month which, on average, takes about 19.7 hours (Standard Deviation: 12.2), and costs 22.4 Emalangeni (Standard Deviation: 14.1).

As in other processes within women's work, the transportation of the products is chiefly women's responsibility. The assistance provided by the project staff only partially fills the gap created by the decrease in help from the family members and relatives.

d. Loans and Revolving Funds

One of the obstacles to Women's self-employment schemes is the lack of capital for purchasing raw material and the necessary equipment. This is one of the most important factors forcing women to stop working.

The results of the study indicate that 87.7 percent of the women have little or no knowledge of how and where to apply for a loan. Of all the interviewees, only 20.6 percent have ever applied for any loans and half of these are from the Women in Development Project which is the only project with a revolving fund. The two major problems facing those who seek loans are the lack of collateral and

Table 5.3.8.4

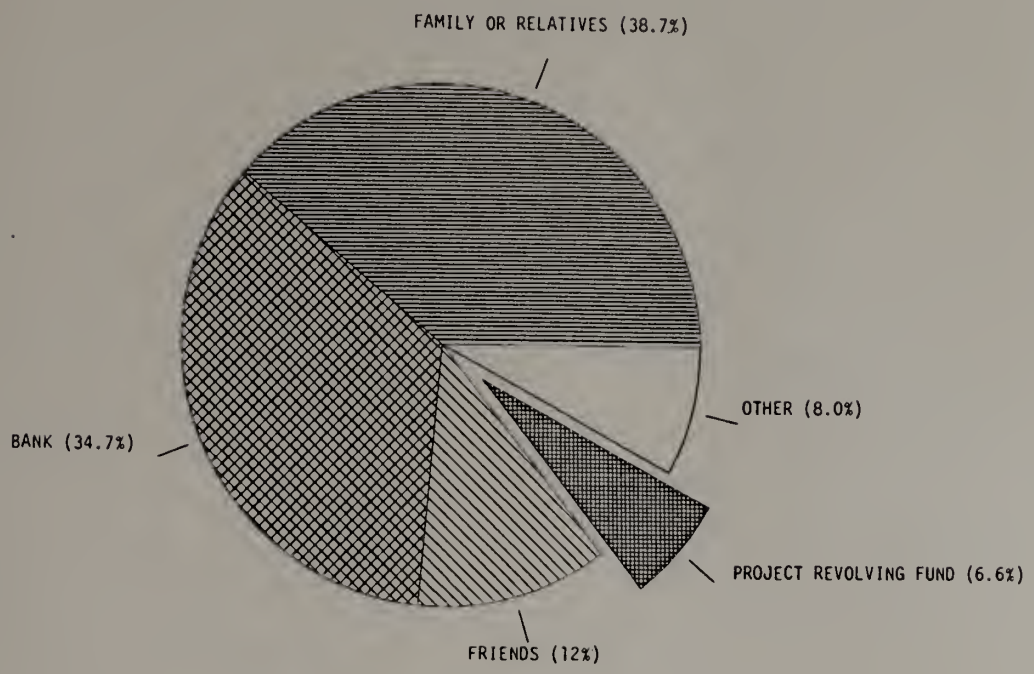
Degree of Knowledge of Loan and Credit Facilities (%)

	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Association	Total	Cumulative Percent
Nothing at all	40.5	78.5	69.3	64.9	64.9
A little	35.7	--	21.7	22.8	87.7
Some	9.5	--	2.6	3.7	91.4
Fairly much	14.3	--	2.1	4.1	95.5
No response	--	21.4	4.3	4.5	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

references. The uncertainty of the business and the fear that they may not be able to repay the loan, are important factors prohibiting the women from seeking loans. Family members or relatives (38.7 percent) closely followed by the banks (34.7 percent) are the two major sources that women turn to for loans.

As mentioned earlier, Women in Development is the only one of the three projects under the study which has a revolving fund. Women are encouraged to form "interest groups" and loans are given to groups rather than individuals. Also in some Associations, women have formed modest revolving funds out of their membership fees. This fund is, then, made available in turn to women who need the loan for their income-generating work or for personal problems and family crises.

Figure 5.3.8.1. Sources referred to for borrowing money.



This is not, however, a common practice among all the Associations. The most successful example of this revolving fund can be seen in the previously mentioned Association where women's contributions were used for setting up a cotton farm.

e. Other Assistance Needed

Swazi women already have a heavy workload. The addition of income-generating activities to their work schedule, if not accompanied by the appropriate support network (such as day care centers, appropriate technology, marketing and credit facilities), would result in an occupation with limited economic remuneration. This increase in the workload of women, would consequently, not only have implications for their own health, but that of the rural family as a whole.

In order for women to be able to allocate more time to income generating skills, they would need day care centers for their children, as well as time saving devices to lighten the burden of their chores at home. Women in Development is the only project that has created day care centers in the vicinity of the project site for the children of its participants. Other women have to rely on older children, family members or relatives to take care of their younger children.

The use of time saving devices such as iron or clay ovens, water storage tanks, grinders, and devices that use solar energy for heating

water and drying fruits and greens is not common. The Village Technology section of the Women in Developing project has been more successful in producing the devices than in popularizing them.

5.3.9. Perceived Problems and Solutions

The most discouraging aspect of women's self-employment is that their products are not sold in high volumes Over half of the interviewees complain that the volume of sales is low due to lack of orders. Another complaint is the lack of a nearby market place where they can display and consequently sell their products.

These women, further, report that due to lack of a marketing network, they have to spend hours walking from homestead to homestead to find customers. Others have to take their products to markets in Manzini, Mbabane, or in the Republic of South Africa. In the latter case, the bus fare usually compounds the losses borne by these women through lack of sales. Not being paid by their creditors, and their money being stolen in the city are further problems. Whether going from door to door or traveling to market places within and outside the country, long periods of time (may be even a couple of days) have to be set aside for marketing and selling the products.

Another grievance that women have, pertains to the low prices paid for their goods which leaves them with little profit. This issue appears to be especially more severe among the members of the Women's Associations since the prices of their products are determined by the

Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism (the Handicraft Office). The pricing system is based on the amount of time needed and the type of material used for the handicraft. The time women spend on income-generating work is valued at 1.50 Emalangeni (approximately $1.35) per six hours of work.

Table 5.3.9.1

Women's Perception of Problems in Income-Generating Work (%)

Perceived Problems	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Association	Total Average
Not enough orders	23.8	28.6	30.7	29.4
No market place nearby	19.0	28.6	21.2	21.2
Prices too low/Not enough profit	4.8	--	23.3	18.8
Creditors do not pay	35.7	42.8	10.6	16.7
Lack of transport/ Transport expensive	7.1	--	15.3	13.1
No problems	9.5	--	13.2	11.8
Raw material is scarce/ expensive	9.5	7.1	10.0	9.8
No capital	4.8	7.1	5.8	5.8

Close to half of the women could not offer any solutions to their problems. The majority of those who could, however, either asked for a market place to be built nearby, or requested the creation of a network to assist them with the marketing and transportation of their products.

Table 5.3.9.2

Women's Perception of Solutions to Problems in Income-Generating Work (%)

Perceived Solutions	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Association	Total Average
Don't know	42.8	57.1	47.6	47.7
Build a market place nearby	23.8	14.3	22.2	22.0
Give assistance with marketing and transportation	9.5	--	22.7	19.2
Increase and standardize prices	2.4	--	11.1	4.5

5.3.10. Other Sources of Income

Lack of a formal training in income-generating skills has never stopped women from using whatever skills they have in earning money for the family. Traditional skills have always helped women earn some income, no matter how nominal. Even those who have gone through

formal training in income-generating skills, still call upon other skills they learned from family and relatives, in order to increase their earnings.

Weaving (27.3 percent), knitting (25.3 percent), and crocheting (24.5 percent) learned through the "traditional" networks are the major craftwork used to supplement the income earned using the skills learned at the projects. Other means of earning cash are farming (17.2 percent), gardening (16.3 percent), beadwork (13.1 percent), sewing (11.0 percent), and animal husbandry and poultry (10.2 percent).

Another source of income for those who live close to the borders of the country, or to those who can afford trips to Durban and similar metropolitan areas in South Africa, is trading. During each trip, clothes, ornaments, shoes and other easy-selling items are bought in the Republic of South Africa and sold at a profit in Swaziland. At Lomahasha, near the Mozambiquan border, the situation is reversed. Women buy the items in Swaziland and sell them in Mozambique. Most of women at Lomahasha who are involved in the trading were once members of Lomahasha Women's Association. Disgruntled with their level of income, they started their individual trading business, and the old Association is no longer in operation.

5.3.11. Future Areas of Training

When asked what further training they would like to have, women showed more interest in handicraft skills, ranking agricultural and its related skills at the bottom of their priority list.

Table 5.3.11.1

Perception of Women of the Areas for Future Training

Training Areas	Women in Development	Catholic Mission	Women's Association	Total Average
Sewing	57.1	64.3	51.8	53.5
Knitting	38.1	42.8	27.0	29.8
Crocheting	11.9	14.3	25.9	22.8
Weaving	9.5	--	25.4	21.2
Vegetable growing	14.3	28.6	20.0	19.6
Tie & Dye	30.9	--	10.6	13.5
Animal husbandry/ Poultry	9.5	--	12.7	11.4
Farming	7.1	7.1	6.9	9.0

Notes to Chapter V

[1]These three projects will be analyzed in more detail in Section 5.3.

[2]See Appendix I for a copy of this questionnaire (No. 3).

[3]In this section, the information and data are based on an earlier report prepared by the researcher under the title of "Swazi Women's Income-Generating Activities," University of Swaziland, April 1983.

[4]No definition was provided to the interviewees for this term. It was left to the respondents to interpret the term based on their own perception of the meaning of "head of household."

[5]One Lilangeni (Plural: Emalangeni) is little less than one U.S. dollar ($.95 based on 1982 rates).

C H A P T E R V I

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The government of Swaziland has voiced its concern for the betterment of the rural life in that country. The emphasis of the rural development policy, however, on cash cropping -- men's domain -- has resulted in the exclusion of women from the benefits of this main employment opportunity in the rural areas.

The limited employment opportunities for the rural population in general and for the rural women in particular, has prompted the prevalence of income generating activities -- mostly in the form of handicraft production -- among women. This employment area, however, suffers greatly as a result of separation from the mainstream development strategies and a lack of organization and coordination. There exists no government or private body to represent the socio-economic interests of women, to bring their needs into the attention of the economic planners in the country, or to organize and coordinate the funding and running of women's projects. The result is that several income-generating projects have been created without any proper coordination among them or between them and the organizations which could provide the necessary expertise and services.

Consequently, almost all women's projects have to struggle on their own for access to resources and receive limited assistance

from government agencies in this respect. After the lack of coordination, the most important problems facing these programs are the lack of staff and transport. Some project managers find it difficult to recruit trained instructors; the field officers and extension workers almost unanimously believe that the lack of transportation has a serious limiting effect on their work.

The projects' limited access to the service organizations is another issue. SEDCO (Small Enterprises Development Company) has the expertise and resources to meet at least part of the present needs in terms of "business" skills training, and in the provision of workshops and loans. As a result of lack of publicity, little use is made of SEDCO's services by women's projects. This is a great waste since SEDCO, if expanded and more organized, could provide the much needed services of a central organization not only in terms of loans and skills training, but also in the form of a central marketing organization.

The results of the present study show that women's involvement with income-generating work does not with their training in one of the projects. The great majority of women were already familiar with one or more skills (albeit to a modest degree) which they had acquired through an informal network before joining an income-generating project. This network consists of family members, relatives, and friends who play an important role in the dissemination of the "know-how." The present monetary gains of the project participants

can, therefore, not totally be attributed to women's participation in these projects, since income-generation for many women started prior to their participation in a training program.

After receiving training at one of the projects, women spend, on average, over four hours a day on income-generating activities. Since rural women have always had long working days, their involvement in this task on a regular basis necessitates a change in the amount of time allocated to various other activities. In order to accommodate the time needed for income-generating work, most of the women find it necessary to cut down on their "resting" time. This would have serious implications regarding the health status of the women who find that decreasing their "rest" time is their only solution.

The time women allot to other tasks at home is also reduced as a result of income-generating activities. Detailed reserach would be essential to find out the impact of changes in time allocation on the division of labor within the family and the family's well being as a whole. Reduction of the time spent on farming and the family vegetable garden could have serious implications on the nutritional status of the rural families many of whom suffer from malnutrition. Further detailed studies would be necessary to find out if the amount of food that women spend their income on, would compare, in terms of quality and quantity with what they could have otherwise grown themselves. Studies in other countries in Africa have shown that the purchased food is inferior to the food grown both in quality and quantity.

Emphasizing food production by women through income-generating projects not only makes economic sense, but improves the nutritional status of the rural families.

The change in women's time allocation for various tasks is also inevitable in light of the fact that the traditional support network has been weakening gradually for many years now. Many men and young people leave the rural areas in search of employment, and children attend school in increasing numbers each year. There are, therefore, fewer family members around to extend any assistance. As the present study indicates, the amount of assistance extended by the family members and relatives to the women involved in income-generating work has almost been cut by half. Although the project staff have filled up part of this gap, women's responsibilities in various stages of production and marketing have increased considerably. In order for women to be able to function more effectively, therefore, the expansions of such facilities as day care centers for their children, as well as the introduction of time saving devices (appropriate technology) for use in the house are essential.

The trend in the income-generating skills offered by the three projects under the study is clearly biased towards the so called "feminine" skills, and for the most part ignore women's role and experience in food production. The emphasis on cash income especially through crafts production has become such that little emphasis is placed on the value of food production not only as a source of direct

or indirect cash income, but also as a means for increasing the nutritional status of the rural population.

Not surprisingly, the primary motive for women to participate in income-generating work is to earn cash to supplement the family budget. The majority, however, consider their income to be too low. Factors such as cost and scarcity of raw material, low sales prices, and lack of customers are contributors to the low level of profit, especially as regards the handicrafts. In Women's Associations, for example, the prices for the products are determined by the Office of Handicrafts in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism. The prices (which at the time of the study were under review), were based on the evaluation of women's time at 1.50 Emalangeni (about $1.35) per day (for six hours of work).

Since the idea of "women only" programs usually results in the concentration of the training programs on a limited set of skills (such as sewing, handicraft, batik, knitting, and the like) and the consequent exclusion of other more marketable and profitable skills, it would be advisable to open all such projects to both sexes. The major advantage of such strategy is that by including men, these projects can, on the one hand attract more government support, and on the other, provide the basis for expansion of skills training opportunities to women. Special mechanisms would, however, be necessary to ensure the equal access of women and men to all skills and services.

The women under the study seem to face similar problems in their income-generating work, irrespective of the type of project they are affiliated with. The majority consider the lack of customers as their major problem. It is of interest to note that the low volume of sale is not entirely due to the lack of a "market" for the products. Personal communication with officials and the review of several reports regarding the market potential of Swazi handicrafts indicate that markets do exist inside and especially outside the country. Since no central coordinating and marketing organization, however, exists that could receive the orders, distribute them among the women, and collect the products later, large orders cannot be met under the present circumstances. Moreover, the irregular pattern of women's work and again the lack of coordination make even the timely production of the necessary items for smaller orders difficult.

One other issue regarding the low volume of sale of the products seems to stem from the lack of clarity as to the type of markets they are destined for. Most projects seem to aim, chiefly, at the internal market. However, little distinction is made between the needs of the various types of customers. Similar products are, therefore, presented for sale to the rural and urban population as well as to the tourists. Although efforts have been made to diversify the products and at the same time increase their quality, further upgrading of the income-generating skills for both the project participants and their trainers is essential.

Women's general lack of knowledge and access to loan and credit facilities also limit the scope of their work. Tough licensing regulations and the absence of policies encouraging the use of Swazi-made instead of imported products pose other serious problems. For example, the schools in Swaziland could provide an endless market for those involved in making uniforms, winter pullovers and shoes for school children. At the same time, the furniture used at the schools and government offices could also be supplied by Swazi producers. In the absence of a central organization which could coordinate the above efforts, women have to spend considerable amounts of energy, time and money in all aspects of their income-generating work. This, not only limits the amount of time they can spend on their work, but, inevitably, diminishes their profits.

In regards to the contribution of women to the family budget, the present study showed that food, clothing and children's school fees are the three most important items which women's income is spent on. There is also evidence that after receiving training, women have supplemented the family cash income to a higher extent.

A similar trend was also observed in the decision making pattern within the household. While women seem to play a greater role in decision making, they strongly believe that their higher economic status has had no effect on their decision making power in the household, or in the community. More detailed research will be necessary to show what, exactly, has caused the increase in women's

input into the decision making pattern within the household. One could, nevertheless, speculate that this shift in the responsibilities is a reflection of the important changes in the rural life in Swaziland due to such factors as the migration of men and young educated people in search of jobs, higher education, and mobilization of the women, as well as the gradual transformation of the traditional ways of life. Women's greater input in the family budget and decision making pertaining to the household issues can be interpreted as a sign of their moving towards more independence. However, one should not jump to the conclusion that this is a sure sign of women's movement towards independence since it is possible that men may have used this opportunity to burden women with a greater share of their own responsibilities!

In short, it seems that women's Income-Generating Projects (IGPs) in Swaziland have the following characteristics:

1. The present status of the IGPs in terms of separation from the mainstream development strategies, limited funding and resources, lack of central coordinating body and support services, and the type of skills training offered is a reflection of the underestimation of women's contribution to the natinal economic development, and the complexity of women's roles in child rearing, food production and employment. Furthermore, it signifies the indifference of the governmental bodies to the conditions of the women especially in the rural areas.

2. IGPs stem from women's economic needs and are a reflection of women's limited access to gainful employment.
3. IGPs promote skills that are nonviable when permanent and gainful employment are concerned, and thus, further perpetuate discrimination against women in the job market.
4. Because of the inadequacies of IGPs, women involved in such projects heavily depend on the traditional network for assistance in their activities.
5. IGPs do not seem to have made a considerable difference in increasing women's earnings from income-generating activities.

The process to ensure women's equal access to resources for economic development, and to eliminate the discrimination against them in the power relations within and outside the household, will be essential and slow. Any improvement in women's income-generating activities has to be done with an eye to the more fundamental economic, social and political issues affecting the position of women.

It is with regards to the issues presented that the following recommendations are made:

National Level:

1. A women's commission to be established with a representative in the economic planning section of the government of Swaziland in order to deal with the coordination, development and funding of income-generating projects.
2. The government to relax licensing regulations for all those involved in income-generating activities.

3. The government to draw up protective measures for Swazi enterprises and products.
4. SEDCO to coordinate and develop functions of the various agencies providing services to those involved in income-generating activities.
5. Faculties of Science and Agriculture of the University of Swaziland to look into the preservation of Swaziland's seasonal agro-based materials and their use.

Project Level:

1. A good line of communication to be established among all the existing projects on the one hand, and projects and service organizations on the other, to ensure proper coordination and prevention of duplication of activities, as well as the fair distribution of the resources.
2. Programs be expanded such that they would include men as well as women in order to widen the scope of the skills and employment opportunities for both sexes.
3. Supporting systems be established through the introduction of such services and facilities as day care centers, appropriate technology units, cooperatives or associations, transportation, and loan and credit facilities.
4. Training be provided in elementary business management skills to the trainers and trainees involved in the income generating activities. In addition, relevant material to be developed in a

simple language to be used by the extension workers in teaching such skills.

5. More emphasis be put on food production both as a source of income and a way to enhance the nutritional status of the rural families.
6. The present skills offered at income-generating projects be diversified, upgraded and tied into the needs of the market.
7. The existing training institutions for trainers be expanded.
8. The products be diversified and upgraded based on the needs of the market and through the use of local and foreign exports.
9. More efforts be concentrated into the mobilization of women and familiarizing them with various employment opportunities.
10. Women be encouraged towards group work in the form of Associations (since cooperatives do not seem to be very popular).
11. "Women's groups" or "associations" be educated in such relevant skills as group leadership, communication skills, and the formation of revolving funds.

Women's income-generating activities, however, should be studied within the broader framework of women's position and rights in the Swazi society. Any progress made towards improving the women's income-generating activities/programs would be temporary at best and offset if steps are not taken to eliminate the oppression of, and discrimination against the Swazi women within the household and in the

society. New laws will be necessary not only to ensure women's access to gainful employment and equal pay, but also to secure women's rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance and property ownership. Women should be mobilized to gain a stronger voice in the decision-making bodies of the government, public and private organizations, and to establish a more equitable division of labor at home. The problems that women face in relation to their income-generating work is only a small part of the large pool of problems they face in their role as "women." Only if women's issues are treated as part of the overall development problem in the country, can women's economic status in general, and their contributions to the country's economy be enhanced.

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APPENDIX I

Name of Interviewee:_____

Questionnaire No. 1

1. To which project/organization do you belong?

2. What is your relation to, or position in the project/organization?

3. When did the project/organization start?

4. Who initiated it?

5. Who funds it?

6. What other organization does it liaise with?

7. Why was the project/organization started?

8. What are its goals and objectives?

9. Are these goals and objectives written, and if so in what terms?

10. What does the project/organization contain?

11. What skills and/or services are offered?

12. How is the program structured?

13. How long is the program?

14. What are the products?

15. Who are the participants?

16. How were they encouraged to participate?

17. What socioeconomic level are they from?

18. What are the future plans for the project/organization?

Questionnaire No. 2

Name of Interviewee: _____

Name of Project Affiliated with: _____

Name of Organization/Ministry connected with: _____

1. What is your relationship to, or position in the project and/or organization you work with?

2. What are your duties?

3. How long have you been associated with the project and/or organization?

4. What skills do you have?

5. What other skills do you feel you need for your present job?

6. In relation to the project you work with, what aspect(s) of the planning have you been involved with?

7. What are the most popular skills among the participants, and why?

8. What are their future needs in tems of skills training?

9. What kinds of products do the participants produce?

10. Who provides the most assistance to the participants in terms of the following services?

Services	Women Individually	Group of Women	Project Staff	Staff & Women Together	Other (Specify)	
a. providing raw material						
b. pricing products						
c. marketing						
d. transportation of products						
e. displaying products						
f. seeking loan and credit						
g. providing animal feed						
h. providing seed						
i. other						

11. What socioeconomic level do the participants belong to:

	Most participants	some participants	nobody
a. very poor			
b. poor			
c. average			
d. above average			

12. What is women's income mostly spent on?

13. Who benefits most from this income?

14. What is the reaction of husbands to their wives involvement in income-generating work?

15. In your opinion, what are the problems that the participants face in their work?

16. What are the solutions to these problems?

17. In your opinion, what are the needs of the project and/or organization you are connected with?

18. What are the solutions to these problems?

Questionnaire No. 3

NOTE TO THE INTERVIEWER

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH TO THE INTERVIEWEE:

The purpose of this interview is to examine your income-generating activities and bring your problems to the attention of the officials involved in this area.

Date: _____

Name of Interviewer: _____

Name of Interviewee: _____

Name of Project: _____

Location: _____

Interviewee I.D. No.	_____
Project I. D. No.	_____
Card No.	_____

Recorded Values

1. When did you start receiving training in income-generating activitires through the project?

   Date: Month: _____ or Year: _____

   _____ Years ago _____

2. How do you use your income-generating skills?
   (READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

   1. I am self emloyed - (Go to Question 3)
   2. I am employed by someone else - (Go to Question 6)
   3. I do not use these skills for earning income - (Go to Question 5) _____

3. How many people are employed by you to do income-generating work?
   (DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

   1. I am not employing anyone - (Go to Question 6)
   2. One to less than four
   3. Four to less than seven
   4. Seven or more _____

4. What is the relation of the people you have employed, to you?
   (DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

   1. Family
   2. Relatives
   3. Friends
   4. Others _____

   (NOW GO TO QUESTION 6)

5. Why don't you use your income-generating skills for earning income? _____
   (AFTER THE INTERVIEWEE HAS RESPONDED TO THIS QUESTION, THANK HER AND END THE INTERVIEW.)

Skills

6. How much did you know about the following skills BEFORE you received any training through the project? You can answer by saying "nothing at all," "a little," "some," "fairly much," or "a lot."
(KEEP REMINDING THE INTERVIEWEE THAT THE QUESTION DEALS WITH SKILLS KNOWN BEFORE RECEIVING TRAINING THROUGH THE PROJECT.)

Skill	Nothing at all 1	A little 2	Some 3	Fairly much 4	A lot 5	
a. gardening						_____
b. farming						_____
c. animal husbandry/ poultry						_____
d. beer brewing						_____
e. sewing						_____
f. knitting						_____
g. crochet						_____
h. macrame						_____
i. shoe-making						_____
j. weaving						_____
k. tie and dye						_____
l. batik						_____
m. tatting						_____
n. leather craft						_____
o. wood carving						_____
p. stone carving						_____
q. ceramics/pottery						_____
r. bead work						_____
s. fine arts						_____
t. book keeping						_____
u. pricing products						_____
v. other (specify)						_____

7. Where, or from whom did you learn these skills?
(DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

	Yes (1)	No (0)	
1. Mother	_____	_____	_____
2. Relatives	_____	_____	_____
3. Zenzele groups	_____	_____	_____
4. Women's Associations	_____	_____	_____
5. R.D.A. meetings	_____	_____	_____
6. Farmer Training Centers	_____	_____	_____
7. School	_____	_____	_____
8. Other (Specify) _____			_____

8. What skills were you taught at the project and how much do you know about them? You can answer by saying "nothing at all," "a little," "some," "fairly much," or "a lot."
(READ ALL THE SKILLS ONE BY ONE.)

Skill	Nothing at all 1	A little 2	Some 3	Fairly much 4	A lot 5	
a. gardening						_____
b. farming						_____
c. animal husbandry/ poultry						_____
d. beer brewing						_____
e. sewing						_____
f. knitting						_____
g. crochet						_____
h. macrame						_____
i. shoe-making						_____
j. weaving						_____
k. tie and dye						_____
l. batik						_____

Skill	Nothing at all 1	A little 2	Some 3	Fairly much 4	A lot 5	
m. tatting						_____
n. leather craft						_____
o. wood carving						_____
p. stone carving						_____
q. ceramics/pottery						_____
r. bead work						_____
s. fine arts						_____
t. book keeping						_____
u. pricing products						_____
v. other (specify)						_____

9. Other than the skills you learned at the project, what are your other sources of income now?
(READ ALL THE SKILLS TO THE INTERVIEWEE, ONE BY ONE.)

Skills	Skill used 1	Skill not used 0	
a. gardening			_____
b. farming			_____
c. animal husbandry/poultry			_____
d. beer brewing			_____
e. sewing			_____
f. knitting			_____
g. crochet			_____
h. macrame			_____
i. shoe-making			_____
j. weaving			_____
k. tie and dye			_____
l. batik			_____
m. tatting			_____
n. leather craft			_____
o. wood carving			_____
p. stone carving			_____
q. ceramics/pottery			_____
r. bead work			_____
s. fine arts			_____
t. book keeping			_____
u. pricing products			_____
v. trading			_____
w. other (specify)			_____

10. What are the three other skills you would like to learn? Please name them in order of importance.

1.

2.

3.

Products

11. BEFORE joining the project, what items were you producing to earn income? (READ ALL THE ITEMS ONE BY ONE AND ASK IF SHE USED TO PRODUCE IT. IF THE RESPONSE IS POSITIVE, READ THE OPTIONS ONE BY ONE. IF THE RESPONSE IS NEGATIVE, GO TO THE NEXT ITEM. SEVERAL TIMES REMIND THE INTERVIEWEE THAT THESE ARE THE ITEMS SHE USED TO PRODUCE BEFORE RECEIVING TRAINING AT THE PROJECT.)

ITEMS	Cost of raw material per product a	Amount of time necessary for production b	No. or amount produced per month c	Average sales price per product d	No. or amount sold per month e	No. or amount produced for self, family or friends/month f	
1. Fruit basket							____
2. Floor mats							____
3. Table mats							____
4. Uniforms							____
5. Jersey							____
6. Batik							____
7. Crochet							____
8. Grass rugs							____
9. Dresses/skirts							____
10. Table runners							____
11. Dolls							____
12. Macrame							____
13. Curtains							____
14. Tie and dye material							____
15. Shoes							____
16. Log baskets							____

ITEMS	Cost of raw material per product a	Amount of time necessary for production b	No. or amount produced per month c	Average sales price per product d	No. or amount sold per month e	No. or amount produced for self, family or friends/month f
17. Cooked food						
18. Fruit						
19. Vegetables						
20. Beer						
21. Wooden bowls & vases						
22. Clay bowls & vases						
23. Wall hangings						
24. Grass bags						
25. Leather bags & belts						
26. Sculptures						
27. Flower arrangements						
28. Raised animals						
29. Jewelry						
30. Necklaces & other ornaments						
31. Laundry basket						
32. Sleeping mats						
33. Beach mats						
34. Grinding mats						
35. Egg cups						
36. Trays						
37. Other (Specify)						

12. What items did you learn to produce through the training you received at the project? (READ ALL THE ITEMS ONE BY ONE AND ASK IF SHE HAS LEARNED TO PRODUCE IT AT THE PROJECT. IF THE RESPONSE IS POSITIVE, READ THE OPTIONS ONE BY ONE. IF THE RESPONSE IS NEGATIVE, GO TO THE NEXT ITEM. SEVERAL TIMES REMIND THE INTERVIEWEE TO MENTION ONLY ITEMS SHE LEARNED TO MAKE AT THE PROJECT.)

ITEMS	Cost of raw material per product a	Amount of time necessary for production b	No. or amount produced per month c	Average sales price per product d	No. or amount sold per month e	No. or amount produced for self, family or friends/month f	
1. Fruit basket							_____
2. Floor mats							_____
3. Table mats							_____
4. Uniforms							_____
5. Jersey							_____
6. Batik							_____
7. Crochet							_____
8. Grass rugs							_____
9. Dresses/skirts							_____
10. Table runners							_____
11. Dolls							_____
12. Macrame							_____
13. Curtains							_____
14. Tie and dye material							_____
15. Shoes							_____
16. Log baskets							_____

ITEMS	Cost of raw material per product a	Amount of time necessary for production b	No. or amount produced per month c	Average sales price per product d	No. or amount sold per month e	No. or amount produced for self, family or friends/month f
17. Cooked food						
18. Fruit						
19. Vegetables						
20. Beer						
21. Wooden bowls & vases						
22. Clay bowls & vases						
23. Wall nangings						
24. Grass bags						
25. Leather bags & belts						
26. Sculptures						
27. Flower arrangements						
28. Raised animals						
29. Jewelry						
30. Necklaces & Other Ornaments						
31. Laundry basket						
32. Sleeping mats						
33. Beach mats						
34. Grinding mats						
35. Egg cups						
36. Trays						
37. Other (Specify)						

Income

13. On the average, how much cash do you make per month now, from all of your skills, including the ones you knew before joining the project, and the ones you learned at the project?
(ENCOURAGE THE INTERVIEWEE TO RESPOND EVEN IF IT IS ONLY AN APPROXIMATE FIGURE.)

a) During peak farm work	E..... per month	_____
b) Other times	E..... per month	_____
c) On average	E..... per month	_____

14. How much have the kills that you learned at the project, added to your earnings?
(READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

1. Nothing at all
2. A little
3. Some
4. Fairly much
5. A lot

_____

15. On the average, how much do you earn per month, out of only the skills you learned at the Project?
(ENCOURAGE THE INTERVIEWEE TO RESPOND EVEN IF IT IS ONLY AN APPROXIMATE FIGURE.)

a) During peak farm work	E..... per month	_____
b) Other times	E..... per month	_____
c) On average	E..... per month	_____

Expenditure Pattern

15. Who decides what your income should be spent on?
(DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

1. Woman alone
2. Husband or other male head of household
3. Woman and male head of household

_____

17. What are the three most important things that your income is spent on?
(DO NOT READ OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Items	Yes 1	No 0	
a. School fees	____	____	____
b. Food	____	____	____
c. Health care	____	____	____
d. Clothing	____	____	____
e. Recreation	____	____	____
f. Raw material for products	____	____	____
g. Housing	____	____	____
h. Renting workshop	____	____	____
i. Paying debts	____	____	____
j. Savings	____	____	____

18. BEFORE you received training, who, mostly, used to pay for the following items?
(READ THE ITEMS ONE BY ONE AND RECORD THE RESPONSES. DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Items	I 1	My husband 2	My husband & I 3	A male head of household & I 4	Other (Specify) 5	
a. School fees						
b. Food						
c. Health care						
d. Clothing						
e. Recreation						
f. Raw material for products						
g. Housing						
h. Renting workshop						
i. Paying debts						
j. Savings						

19. After your training, who pays more frequently for the following items?
(READ THE ITEMS ONE BY ONE AND RECORD THE RESPONSES. DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Items	I 1	My husband 2	My husband & I 3	A male head of household & I 4	Other (Specify) 5	
a. School fees						_____
b. Food						_____
c. Health care						_____
d. Clothing						_____
e. Recreation						_____
f. Raw material for products						_____
g. Housing						_____
h. Renting workshop						_____
i. Paying debts						_____
j. Savings						_____

Decision Making

20. To what extent has your income increased your influence on the decisions made in your household?
(READ ALL THE OPTIONS EXCEPT FOR "I don't know".)

0. I don't know
1. Not at all
2. Comparatively little
3. To some degree
4. Fairly much
5. A great deal

_____

21. To what extent has your income increased your influence on the decisions made in your community?
(READ ALL THE OTPIONS EXCEPT FOR "I don't know".)

0. I don't know
1. Not at all
2. Comparatively little
3. To some degree
4. Fairly much
5. A great deal

_____

22. BEFORE you joined the project, who, in most cases, used to make the following decisions?
(READ EACH DECISION AND RECORD THE ANSWER. DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

	Woman alone 1	Husband alone 2	Other male relatives 3	Woman and husband together 4	Woman & male realtives together 5	Children 6	The whole family together 7	No one/N.A. 8	
a. What school the children should go to									___
b. How many children to have									___
c. When the children should drop out of school									___
d. What to plant in the farm									___
e. What to plant in the vegetable garden									___
f. Move to a different area to live									___
g. What food to eat									___
h. How and when to discipline children									___
i. What livestock to raise									___
j. Whether to buy something major for the family									___

23. NOW who makes the following decisions most often?
(READ EACH DECISION AND RECORD THE ANSWER. DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

	Woman alone 1	Husband alone 2	Other male relatives 3	Woman and husband together 4	Woman & male relatives together 5	Children 6	The whole family together 7	No one/N.A. 8	
a. What school the children should go to									___
b. How many children to have									___
c. When the children should drop out of school									___
d. What to plant in the farm									___
e. What to plant in the vegetable garden									___
f. Move to a different area to live									___
g. What food to eat									___
h. How and when to discipline children									___
i. What livestock to raise									___
j. Whether to buy something major for the family									___

Time Allocation

24. On the average, what portion of your time is spent on income-generating activities?

	No. of hours per day	No. of hours per week	No. of hours per year	Average No. of hours per month	
a. During peak farm work					____
b. Other times					____
c. On average					____

25. AFTER going through training, which of the following activitites have you been spending LESS time on, as a result of being engaged in income-generating activities? (READ ALL THE ACTIVITIES ONE BY ONE.)

Activities	No 0	Yes 1	Not applicable 2	
a. Working on the farm	____	____	____	____
b. Gardening	____	____	____	____
c. Cooking	____	____	____	____
d. Visiting the doctor or clinic	____	____	____	____
e. Resting	____	____	____	____
f. Taking care of children	____	____	____	____
g. Washing clothes	____	____	____	____
h. Fetching water	____	____	____	____
i. Collecting fuel	____	____	____	____
j. Looking after animals	____	____	____	____
k. Brewing beer	____	____	____	____
l. Selling surplus crop, or livestock, or poultry	____	____	____	____

22. BEFORE you joined the project, who, in most cases, used to make the following decisions?
(READ EACH DECISION AND RECORD THE ANSWER. DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

	1 Woman alone	2 Husband alone	3 Other male relatives	4 Woman and husband together	5 Woman & male realtives together	6 Children	7 The whole family together	8 No one/N.A.	
a. What school the children should go to									____
b. How many children to have									____
c. When the children should drop out of school									____
d. What to plant in the farm									____
e. What to plant in the vegetable garden									____
f. Move to a different area to live									____
g. What food to eat									____
h. How and when to discipline children									____
i. What livestock to raise									____
j. Whether to buy something major for the family									____

23. NOW who makes the following decisions most often?
(READ EACH DECISION AND RECORD THE ANSWER. DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

	1 Woman alone	2 Husband alone	3 Other male relatives	4 Woman and husband together	5 Woman & male relatives together	6 Children	7 The whole family together	8 No one/N.A.	
a. What school the children should go to									___
b. How many children to have									___
c. When the children should drop out of school									___
d. What to plant in the farm									___
e. What to plant in the vegetable garden									___
f. Move to a different area to live									___
g. What food to eat									___
h. How and when to discipline children									___
i. What livestock to raise									___
j. Whether to buy something major for the family									___

Time Allocation

24. On the average, what portion of your time is spent on income-generating activities?

	No. of hours per day	No. of hours per week	No. of hours per year	Average No. of hours per month	
a. During peak farm work					____
b. Other times					____
c. On average					____

25. AFTER going through training, which of the following activitites have you been spending LESS time on, as a result of being engaged in income-generating activities? (READ ALL THE ACTIVITIES ONE BY ONE.)

Activities	No 0	Yes 1	Not applicable 2	
a. Working on the farm	____	____	____	____
b. Gardening	____	____	____	____
c. Cooking	____	____	____	____
d. Visiting the doctor or clinic	____	____	____	____
e. Resting	____	____	____	____
f. Taking care of children	____	____	____	____
g. Washing clothes	____	____	____	____
h. Fetching water	____	____	____	____
i. Collecting fuel	____	____	____	____
j. Looking after animals	____	____	____	____
k. Brewing beer	____	____	____	____
l. Selling surplus crop, or livestock, or poultry	____	____	____	____

Assistance Network

26. BEFORE you received training at the project, who used to assist you with the following activities most of the time?
(DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Activities	No one 1	Family or relatives 2	Other women at project 3	People at project 4	
a. Buying raw material					____
b. Buying the necessary equipment					____
c. Transporting products to market					____
d. Finding market for products					____
e. Teaching you new skills					____
f. Getting loans and credits					____

27. NOW that you have gone through some training, who assists you with the following activities most of the time?
(DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Activities	No one 1	Family or relatives 2	Other women at project 3	People at Coop 4	
a. Buying raw material					____
b. Buying the necessary equipment					____
c. Transporting products to market					____
d. Finding market for products					____
e. Teaching you new skills					____
f. Getting loans and credits					____

28. What organizations do you belong to?
(DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

	Member (1)	Not a member (0)	
1. Women's Association			_____
2. Lutsango			_____
3. Zenzele			_____
4. Church group			_____
5. Farmers' Cooperative			_____
6. Other (specify)			_____

29. Do you work with some other women cooperatively? _____

1. Yes - (GO TO QUESTION 30)
2. No - (GO TO QUESTION 31)

30. How does this group or cooperative work?

31. Where do you usually do your income-generating work? _____
(DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

1. At home
2. On the project site
3. At a friend's home
4. In a rented workshop
5. Other (specify)

Marketing/Transportation

32. How far away is your home from the market where your products are sold?
(READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Market	0 N.A.	1 Less than one km.	2 One to less than five kms.	3 Five to less than ten kms.	4 10 kms. or more	5 Name of town or city where market is	
a. Within the country							____
b. Outside the country							____

33. How often are your products taken to the market?
(READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Market	0 N.A.	1 Once a month or less	2 Two or three times a month	3 Four to six times a month	4 Seven times a month or more	
a. Within the country						____
b. Outside the country						____

34. How long does it take to get to the market?

a. Within the country: _____hours each way (hrs. x 2) _____

b. Outside the country: _____hours each way (hrs. x 2) _____

35. How much does it cost to take the products to the market each time?

    a. Within the country: _____ each way (E. x 2) _____

    b. Outside the country: _____ each way (E. x 2) _____

36. How far is your home from where the raw material is bought for your products?
    (READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Place	0 N.A.	1 Less than one km.	2 One to less than five kms.	3 Five to less than ten kms.	4 Ten kms. or more	5 Name of town or city where raw material is bought
a. Within the country						
b. Outside the country						

_____

_____

37. How often is the raw material bought?
    (READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

Place	0 N.A.	1 Once a month	2 Two or three times a month	3 Four to six times a month	4 Seven times a month or more
a. Within the country					
b. Outside the country					

_____

_____

38. How long does it take to travel to the place where the raw material is brought?

    a. Within the country: _____hours each way (hrs. x 2) _____

    b. Outside the country: _____hours each way (hrs. x 2) _____

39. How much does it cost to travel to the place where the raw material is brought?

    a. Within the country: E._____each day (E. x 2) _____

    b. Outside the country: E._____each day (E. x 2) _____

Problems and Solutions

40. In general, what problems do you face in selling and marketing your products?

41. How can these problems be solved?

Loan and Credit

42. How much do you know about the process of applying for loans and credits?
(READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

1. Nothing at all
2. A little
3. Some
4. Fairly much

_____

43. Have you ever tried to get a loan or credit for your income-generating work?

1. Yes - (GO TO QUESTION 44)
2. No - (GO TO QUESTION 47)

_____

44. Who did you try to get the loan or credit from?
(DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

1. Family or relative
2. Friends
3. Bank
4. SEDCO
5. Money lender
6. Project's revolving fund
7. Chief
8. Other (specify)

_____

45. Did you get the loan or credit?

1. Yes
2. No

_____

46. What problems did you have in applying and getting the loan or credit?
(DO NOT READ THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

1. None
2. I did not have a collateral
3. I could not find a reference
4. I did not know how to repay the loan
5. I was told that the male head of the household should apply
6. I did not know how to apply for a loan
7. Other (specify)

_____

Demographic Data

(IN THIS SECTION, DO NOT READ ANY OF THE OPTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWEE.)

47. What is your marital status?

1. Married
2. Divorces or separated
3. Widowed
4. Single

_____

48. How old are you?

1. Less than 21
2. 21 to less than 31
3. 31 to less than 41
4. 41 to less than 51
5. 51 and over

_____

(year born in: _____)

49. What is your level of education?

1. No formal schooling
2. Sebenta courses
3. Grades one or two
4. Standard one to part of Standard five
5. Finished Standard five
6. Form one to part of Form three
7. Finished Form three
8. Form four to part of Form five
9. Finished Form five
10. University education

_____

50. How many children do you have?

1. None
2. One to less than four
3. Four to less than seven
4. Seven or more

_____

51. Where do you live?

1. Name of town: _____

2. Distance from project site: _____ km(s).

_____

52. Who is the head of your household?

1. I am
2. My husband is
3. A male relative is
4. A female relative is

PLEASE THANK THE INTERVIEWEE